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PRESENTED TO
HAROLD MATTINGLY

EDITED BY
R. A. G. CARSON
AND
C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

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INTRODUCTION

IT is not by simple chance that the years from 1910 till now should have seen the study of Roman coinage transformed from the relatively aimless assemblage and recording of material into the increasingly exact historical apparatus of today. For this is the course of time through which the steady stream of Harold Mattingly's numismatic publications has flowed, and it is due above all to his own work, as well as to his inspiration and example, that this great development has taken place. Had he written no more than the five volumes of *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, to say nothing of his part in the series of volumes of *Roman Imperial Coinage*, this could justly have been regarded as a life's work. His bibliography, however, shows his achievement to have been immensely greater.

The present volume of essays was conceived so that Harold Mattingly's friends, pupils, and admirers could have an opportunity of paying to him a tribute in recognition not only of his contribution to scholarship and numismatics but also of his deeply characteristic *humanitas*. It was hoped and thought that he would approve of a volume designed to be practical as well as honorific. Our own thanks are therefore warmly given to contributors who in every case willingly allowed their choice of subject to be circumscribed to provide a volume of essays covering essential aspects of the Roman coinage from the early Republic to the fall of the Western empire.

R.A.G.C.

C.H.V.S.

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IV-V. The Pattern of Official Coinage in the Early Principate

VI. Early Imperial Countermarks

VII-VIII. Cistophori in the Roman Coinage

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJN</i>	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i>
<i>ATL</i>	B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, <i>Athenian Tribute Lists</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1939-53)
<i>BMC</i> Italy, &c.	the appropriate volume of the <i>Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum</i>
<i>BMCRE</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i>
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum</i>
<i>BMQ</i>	<i>British Museum Quarterly</i>
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>British Numismatic Journal</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>BSR</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CIS</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Codex Justinianus</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CRIP</i>	C. H. V. Sutherland, <i>Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy</i> (London, 1951)
<i>CRR</i>	E. A. Sydenham, <i>Coinage of the Roman Republic</i> (London, 1952)
<i>CTh.</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
<i>FITA</i>	M. Grant, <i>From Imperium to Auctoritas</i> (Cambridge, 1946)
<i>HN²</i>	B. V. Head, <i>Historia Numorum</i> (2nd ed., Oxford, 1911)
<i>IGR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i>
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>MN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society's Museum Notes</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>NC Proc.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Numismatic Society</i>
<i>NNM</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society's Numismatic Notes and Monographs</i>

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<i>ATL</i>	B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, <i>Athenian Tribute Lists</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1939-53)
<i>BMC</i> Italy, &c.	the appropriate volume of the <i>Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum</i>
<i>BMCRE</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i>
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<i>BMQ</i>	<i>British Museum Quarterly</i>
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<i>IGR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i>
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>MN</i>	American Numismatic Society's <i>Museum Notes</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>NC Proc.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Numismatic Society</i>
<i>NNM</i>	American Numismatic Society's <i>Numismatic Notes and Monographs</i>

NZ	<i>Numismatische Zeitschrift</i>
NZ Num. Journal	<i>New Zealand Numismatic Journal</i>
OGIS	<i>Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae</i>
PrBAc	} <i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
Proc. Brit. Acad.	
Proc. Camb. Philol. Soc.	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
PSI	<i>Publicazione della società italiana, papiri greci e latini</i>
RAI	<i>M. Grant, Roman Anniversary Issues (Cambridge, 1950)</i>
RBN	<i>Revue belge de numismatique</i>
RE	<i>Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Realencyclopädie</i>
RIC	<i>Mattingly, Sydenham and others, Roman Imperial Coinage (London, 1923-).</i>
RIM	<i>M. Grant, Roman Imperial Money (London, 1954)</i>
RIN	<i>Rivista italiana di numismatica</i>
RN	<i>Revue numismatique</i>
RSN	<i>Revue suisse de numismatique</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SHA	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>
SMACA	<i>M. Grant, Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus (Edinburgh, 1953)</i>
TINC	<i>Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress 1936 (London, 1938)</i>
ZfN	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik</i>

I

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Note: The dates are those appearing on the respective publications cited.

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II

NUMISMATICS AND HISTORY

By A. H. M. JONES

NUMISMATICS is a science in its own right. Coins deserve study both from the technical and the artistic point of view, and must be classified topographically and chronologically. Some of this work depends upon what may be called purely numismatic expertise, the knowledge of the technical processes of striking coins and of the artistic traditions of die-cutters. But as coins have almost invariably been issued by governments, and commonly bear emblems or inscriptions (or both) of the authority which issued them, their classification depends to a very large extent on historical data. Numismatists must in fact be historians to do their own work satisfactorily, and in practice the large majority of ancient numismatists have been historians by training before they specialized in the study of coins. No more eminent example could be found of a scholar who has combined the roles of an historian and a numismatist than Harold Mattingly, to whom these studies are dedicated.

Not only do numismatists have to be historians to enable them to carry out their specialized task of classifying coins. By the classification of coins they have made a substantial contribution to history, especially in the areas and periods where the literary evidence is scanty or untrustworthy. This is a commonplace which it is hardly necessary to illustrate in detail. To take one of the many fields where Mr. Mattingly has made a special contribution, the middle years of the third century A.D. are one of the darkest periods in the history of the Roman empire. There is virtually no evidence except for a few bald chronicles of a much later date and the biographies of the *Historia Augusta*, the date of whose composition is hotly disputed, but whose historical unreliability is generally agreed. Inscriptions of this period are rare; papyri are confined to Egypt. It is a study of the

abundant coins that has established a fixed chronological framework for this dark period, and given valuable indications of the areas which the various ephemeral emperors or usurpers controlled. In better-known periods of Roman imperial history also the coins have often added precision to our chronology, for instance by fixing the dates of imperial salutations, which can be linked to victories vaguely alluded to in the literary authorities. And not only has the imperial coinage proper made its contribution to chronology. The coins issued by the cities of the empire, often dated by a local era, and also carrying the emperor's head with an appropriate inscription, may yield valuable information. By correlating the evidence of a series of coins the local era can be determined, and this often commemorates an event of more than local importance, such as the annexation of a kingdom or the creation of a province. And once the local era is fixed, it can be used to give further precision to imperial chronology.

Imperial coins carry much more than the emperor's head and titulature. They commonly also bear a brief legend and a type which has a symbolical significance. Numismatists have studied these intensively, and an historian may perhaps be permitted to say that in his opinion they have sometimes attached an exaggerated importance to them. This is a question on which there is no literary evidence: this very fact is of some significance, for, if coin legends and types had possessed the importance that some numismatists attach to them, it would seem likely that some ancient author would have commented on them. In the absence of any allusion to the matter in ancient literature, one can judge only on grounds of general probability.

The legends and types were frequently varied. Some have obviously topical significance, and some, as Professor Grant has recently argued, were issued to commemorate the jubilee, centenary, or bi-centenary of some famous event. This would suggest that the authorities who chose the legends and types—and we do not know who they were—took an interest in the coins they produced. Some of the legends and types have a fairly obvious propaganda-value, celebrating imperial victories or benefactions. No doubt they were intended to be vehicles of propaganda, though their importance can be exaggerated. Latin legends meant nothing to the eastern half of the empire, where anyone who was literate could read Greek only. In the western

provinces the great bulk of the population, who spoke Celtic, Iberian, Punic, or various Illyrian tongues, would be unaffected. The educated classes had something better to read than two or three words on a denarius. It would be a matter of some interest if numismatists could try to determine, on internal evidence, within the general probabilities of the situation, at what classes the propaganda on the coins was directed. It might be hazarded that a good many legends were produced for the benefit of the army, for the bulk of the coins must have been minted for issue as pay to the troops, and the common soldier generally would have been sufficiently literate in Latin to read the legend, but not sufficiently educated to read much else except army orders.

Types are a rather different problem. We have grown unaccustomed to visual symbolism, and find it difficult to interpret. In mainly illiterate periods visual symbols were more commonly used and more generally understood. It is nevertheless questionable whether the elaborate messages which some numismatists deduce from coin types were intended to be conveyed by them, and still more questionable whether they were generally understood. In the Middle Ages we are better informed by literary sources on the significance of pictorial representations; we know that the symbolism was simple to the point of crudity. We are hardly justified in postulating a very much greater subtlety in the average inhabitant of the Roman empire. In fact we happen to know from John of Ephesus¹ that in the sixth century the familiar personification of Constantinople on the solidi was taken for a figure of Aphrodite by the general public, and, when Tiberius substituted a cross, it was inferred that his predecessor Justin II had been a cryptopagan.

If a modern analogy is to be sought for the varying types and legends of Roman imperial coins it is perhaps to be found in the similar variations in the postage stamps of many modern countries other than our own. These often show a certain propagandist tendency, depicting the famous men of the country concerned, its artistic monuments, or its principal industries. They are also sometimes topical, advertising congresses, fairs, and the like, or commemorative of great events in national history. They throw a sidelight

¹ iii. 14 (p. 192 in R. Payne Smith, *Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus*).

on the history of the period, but they mainly reflect the mentality of the post-office officials. No serious historian would use them as a clue which revealed changes of government policy, even if other evidence were totally lacking. It would be better if numismatists took the coin types and legends less seriously, and if historians of the empire, instead of building fantastic history upon them, frankly admitted that the political history of periods when coins are the sole evidence is irrecoverable, apart from the bare bones of the chronology of the reigns, the areas which the various emperors effectively controlled, and any salient events which the coins directly celebrate.

The coins might be expected to throw some light on constitutional problems. Here again we are handicapped by an almost total lack of literary evidence. No ancient author says a word on any of the constitutional problems involved—whether coinage was regarded as a privilege of sovereign states, or how far politically subject communities were allowed by their suzerains to issue coins, or again, what body within a state authorized or controlled the issue of coins. This last point is of course of particular interest, under the Roman empire, where one would expect that the rights of the princeps, on the one hand, and those of the senate and people on the other would have been defined; similar questions arise in the late Republic on the rights of the government at Rome, and those of proconsuls in the provinces. There is one inscription,¹ the famous Athenian decree enforcing the exclusive use of the Athenian currency throughout the empire; which bears on the constitutional aspect of coinage. There is a decree of the city of Olbia,² ordering the exclusive use of Olbian coins in the city and regulating the exchange of foreign coins, one clause in the agreement between the city of Smyrna and the troops and civilians in Magnesia,³ declaring that 'they shall accept in Magnesia the legal currency of the city', and one clause in a letter of Antiochus VII to Simon, High Priest of the Jews.⁴ Finally there is a letter⁵ from an official to Apollonius, the finance minister of Ptolemy II, raising

¹ *ATL* ii. D14 (= *SEG* x. 25).

² *Syll.*³ 218.

³ *OGIS* 229, line 55.

⁴ 1 Macc. xv. 6.

⁵ *P. Cairo Zen.* 59021 (= Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, 409).

questions about the new currency which was henceforth to be the exclusive legal tender in Egypt, and the calling in and restriking of old and foreign coins. No other treaty or decree mentions the question: none, for instance, of the laws or *senatus consulta* conferring freedom on, or ratifying treaties with, *civitates liberae* or *foederatae* mentions coinage as a right granted or withheld.

Prima facie this would suggest that the Greeks and Romans attached little importance to coinage as a mark of sovereignty. It may perhaps be inferred that little if any fiscal profit was derived from the mint, but this is a question which will be more conveniently discussed later with the economic aspects of numismatics.

In these circumstances the evidence of the coins themselves is difficult to interpret. Greek coins are usually stamped with the name of the issuing authority in the genitive, 'of the Syracusans' or 'of King Antigonus' for instance. This would seem to imply that they were in some rather vague and confused way thought to belong to the government which issued them, although of course individual coins were recognized as the property of their owners. The official who wrote to the finance minister, Apollonius, seems to have had this idea at the back of his mind. Owing to administrative bungling, merchants who had brought foreign gold coins with them were neither allowed to use them in Egypt nor were given facilities for having them restruck into Ptolemaic coins. The writer of the letter thought that the king's revenues were suffering loss, 'for I think that it is advantageous that as much gold as possible should be imported from abroad, and the king's currency should be always good and new, without any expense being incurred by him'. Actually Ptolemy II gained nothing—except perhaps a minting charge—by reminting gold coins imported by merchants and giving them back to them in the shape of Ptolemaic coins, but in some way it was felt that King Ptolemy was richer if there were more coins about inscribed 'of King Ptolemy'. It may be suspected that a similar idea underlay the Athenian decree. It was no doubt convenient for trade and imperial finance to have a uniform currency throughout the empire; otherwise the Athenian people gained nothing by calling in the issues of the subject cities and giving them back as Athenian tetradrachms (deducting a small minting charge); but they may have felt richer when all

the silver circulating in the empire was labelled with their name and emblem.

From the coins themselves it would have been impossible to deduce the passage of this decree, as the issues of the allied cities of Athens cannot on purely numismatic evidence be sufficiently closely dated. There appears to be no distinction between 'subject', or 'tributary', and 'free' or 'naval' allies of Athens in the matter of issuing coins. In later leagues federal arrangements are sometimes reflected in the coinage. In the Achaean League, for instance, which, as we know from Polybius,¹ had a common standard of weights and measures and currency, the coins are all of the same standard and are labelled 'of the Achaean Patraeans', 'of the Achaean Sicyonians', and the like. Here the coins enable us to say that the currency was not issued from a federal mint, but by the constituent cities of the league at an agreed standard. The coins enable us also to say that certain other leagues, the Lycian for instance, followed the same practice, whereas in others, like the Aetolian, no uniform currency was issued.

In the Hellenistic kingdoms the coins might be hoped to illuminate the vexed question of the relation between the royal government and the cities which the kings ruled or controlled with varying degrees of strictness, or to which they granted varying degrees of freedom, or which they recognized as free in varying degrees. It is in practice very difficult to correlate the numismatic with the literary and epigraphic evidence. The kings issued their own coins, bearing their heads and labelled with their names, from their own mints in various cities; these are identified by mint marks, or by stylistic or typological evidence. The royal mints, together with those of a few great independent cities, such as Rhodes, provided all the gold and larger silver pieces used in the Hellenistic world. Some cities, such as Ephesus, known to have been *de facto* subject to a king, issued silver coins which bear no allusion to the fact, as if they were entirely independent. And under the later Seleucids, from Antiochus IV onwards, hybrid coins, small silver and copper, probably used for local transactions, were issued by a large number of cities, labelled 'of the Hieropolitans on the Pyramus', and so forth, but bearing on the other side the king's portrait; in such cases it may be inferred that a city was

¹ ii. 37. 10.

licensed by the king to issue small change for local use: Antiochus VII wrote to Simon, High Priest of the Jews, 'I have allowed you to strike special issues as currency for your country'. But who provided the bullion and paid for the minting of coins labelled 'of King Antiochus: of the Sidonians'? Normally the king's head on these civic issues seems to be a mere courtesy, abandoned when the cities achieved independence—and sometimes began to issue larger silver pieces for use in foreign trade, or to pay mercenaries.

Under the Roman empire the inscriptions and types of coins are equally ambiguous. The main currency of Asia Minor and Syria consisted of drachmae (and multiples), which passed as denarii, labelled 'of the Ephesians', 'of the Caesareans by the Argaeus' and 'of the Antiochenes'. These coins bear the emperor's head with name and titles in the nominative, sometimes the names of the proconsuls (of Asia) or legates (of Cappadocia or Syria), more often those of the local magistrates. It is generally, and probably rightly, assumed that these silver coins, which are to all appearances exactly analogous to the bronze coins issued by countless eastern cities, were in fact not issued by the cities of Ephesus, Caesarea, and Antioch, but at Ephesus, Caesarea, and Antioch by the imperial government. To add piquancy to the problem, similar bronze coins issued at Antioch are marked S(enatus) C(onsulto): it is often believed that the Roman senate should not have interfered in an imperial province. May it not be that no subtle constitutional point is involved, but that the staff of the imperial mint at Antioch, aware that bronze coins issued in the West always bore the letters SC, thought that this was a standard mark for imperial bronze?

Coins yield a good deal of political information, but their primary purpose was after all to be a medium of exchange. It might therefore be expected that they would be useful evidence for economic history. Here again we are hampered by the fact that there were practically no ancient economists—Xenophon's *Vectigalia* and the Aristotelian *Economics* are almost the only works which deal primarily with the subject—and that ancient historians, lawyers, and orators rarely stopped to consider economic affairs. We have scarcely any information on some very elementary questions, such as where and how governments obtained the bullion needed for their mints, the organization

and technique of mints, and how governments put the coins they struck into circulation. Some states, like Athens, had silver mines in their territory, but even here we do not know precisely how the silver got to the mint. It is probable that the lessees of the mines had to pay 5 per cent. of the gross yield of silver to the state by way of royalty.¹ The remaining 95 per cent. of the silver must have belonged to the lessee, but he presumably got it minted—perhaps he was obliged to do so, though we have no evidence on this point, and perhaps he paid some commission on this. Most of the coins struck by the Athenian mint would thus have passed into circulation by the lessees of the mines spending them. A small proportion would belong to the state, and would pass into circulation by public expenditure—pay to magistrates, soldiers, and so forth. How cities like Corinth and Aegina, which had no domestic source of silver, produced their large currencies is unknown. It can only be conjectured that foreign currency or bullion received by merchants or shippers in return for exports or services was handed in to the mint and struck as Corinthian or Aeginetan staters.

By the second century B.C. the Roman republic owned important silver mines in Spain, and the treasury, Pliny² tells us, was well stocked with silver in bar—some presumably paid by the *publicani* who worked the mines, some the product of the war indemnities levied from Carthage, Philip, and Antiochus; these foreign silver coins were presumably melted down. By the end of Tiberius' reign³ most important gold or silver mines had become state property by confiscation, but the method of their exploitation remains mysterious. Where they were still leased to *publicani*, it may be guessed that the lessees paid part of the bullion extracted to the state under their contract; but we do not know what happened to the rest. In the *metallum Vipascense*⁴ it was possible for a contractor to buy a shaft outright from the *fiscus* for cash, or to work a shaft on a 50:50 basis; we are not told what happened to the silver which the contractor extracted under the former arrangement, nor to the half share of the contractor under the latter. In the fourth century A.D. gold-washers had to pay

¹ Suidas, s.v. ἀγράφων μετάλλων δίκη.

² NH xxxiii. 55.

³ Cf. Suet. Tib. 49. 2, Tac. Ann. vi. 19.

⁴ Bruns, *Fontes*⁷, 113.

the state eight scruples per annum and sell the rest to the treasury;¹ we are not told in what currency the state paid for the gold, but we may guess that it was in bronze. It is, however, probable that most of the bullion used in the Roman mints consisted of the old coins received in taxation and melted down; this was certainly the case under the later empire, when the *solidi* received in taxation were melted down in the province in which they were collected, and sent up to the treasury in bar.² The treasury also usually reserved to itself gold and silver plate which formed part of confiscated properties (*bona vacantia, caduca, damnatorum*), even when the rest of the property was granted to petitioners.³

The mint also occasionally received windfalls of bullion, like the Dacian hoard of gold which Trajan captured, or the vast quantities of gold which Constantine confiscated from the pagan temples, where they had for centuries been sterilized in the form of dedications and cult-statues.

On the organization of the mints and the technique of minting numismatists have given the historian much useful information derived from the study of the coins. There are, however, unsolved problems which a more intensive study might solve. Do the fifth-century imperial coins produced at the mint of Cyzicus throw any light on the curious statement of Sozomen⁴ that there was a large number of persons resident with their wives and children in that town, divided into two bodies by the order of earlier emperors, who rendered each year to the government a fixed payment, the one of military tunics, and the other of freshly minted *solidi*? This is a curious description of a mint. Do the *officina* marks yield any information? Another point on which numismatists might be helpful to historians is in working out the theoretical weight of imperial coins. Much useful and intricate work has been done by numismatists on the various weight standards used by Greek cities and Hellenistic kings, but imperial coins, especially from the third century onwards, have not attracted much interest. From literary evidence⁵ it is clear

¹ CTh. x. xix. 3.

² CTh. xii. vi. 12, 13 (= Cf x. lxxii. 5).

³ CTh. x. ix. 2; x. 21.

⁴ Hist. Eccles. v. 15.

⁵ e.g. Pliny, NH xxxiii. 47; CTh. xv. ix. 1.

that from the first century to the sixth the directors of the mints worked on the basis that a pound of silver or gold was divided into so many coins; the pound of gold into 45 aurei from Nero's time, into 72 solidi from Constantine's time, the pound of silver into 84 denarii before Nero and 96 after him. Coins bear this out; some of Diocletian's silver is marked XCVI (96 to the pound), and some of his gold O or Ξ (70 or 60 to the pound). Normally, then, a coin should ideally weigh an integral part of a (Roman) pound. The surviving specimens do not, because they are worn, corroded or clipped. It is no easy matter to work out what an ancient coin was supposed to weigh, and it involves some statistical skill: it is a task which only numismatists are qualified to perform. It would be useful to the economic historian studying the inflationary movement of the third century A.D. to know the progressive reductions in weight of the denarius, and to the historian of the fourth century A.D. to know what the silver issues in their bewildering variety were supposed to weigh—he only knows from the Theodosian Code¹ that some were 60 to the pound. Another and even more laborious service would be to work out more precisely the rate of debasement in silver content of the third-century denarius: this would involve many chemical and physical tests.

Another type of information which economic historians would greatly appreciate, and which numismatists alone might—with some difficulty, and at the cost of much work—be able to provide, is the relative volume of the various issues. This is admittedly a very tricky business. Some ancient coins are discovered in scientific excavations; the reports unfortunately do not always give the numbers of the coins discovered. Statistics of excavations, when due allowance has been made for the character of the site and the date of its occupation (often deduced from the coins, a somewhat unsafe guide, as some coins had very long lives), should, if correlated and consolidated, give some clue. Other ancient coins are found in hoards. Numismatists have devoted much useful study to these, and historians greatly appreciate the results achieved. What they would greatly value would be more comprehensive books, dealing with special periods or areas, analysing the information obtainable from all

¹ xv. ix. i.

known hoards. But the vast bulk of ancient coins are in museums or private collections, or in the hands of dealers. Their history is usually quite unknown, and we cannot tell how they have survived. In special circumstances it may be that an issue which was once common is now represented by a few specimens only: certain issues may have been effectively called in and reminted, or disappeared under Gresham's law. It is on the whole probable that a smaller proportion of gold has survived than of silver, and of silver than of bronze, because the demand for the precious metals by jewellers would cause gold and silver coins to be melted down. It is likewise probable that older issues have survived in less bulk than more recent issues. It is, however, broadly true, I believe, that coins known from ancient literary sources to have circulated in large numbers—darics, Athenian tetradrachms, Alexanders, Roman imperial aurei and denarii, later imperial solidi—are still the commonest. It therefore seems on the whole likely that the number of surviving coins bears some rough relation to the number originally issued.

On the relative scarcity or commonness of different issues of ancient coins at the present day numismatists give virtually no information to historians—with the honourable exception of *Roman Imperial Coinage*, which under Mr. Mattingly's editorship has made a beginning by roughly classifying each issue as 'common', 'scarce', 'rare', 'very rare', and the like. Collectors and museums naturally wish to acquire a few specimens of every type, and are on the whole more interested in rare than in common coins. The catalogues which they issue usually give no clue whether a given type is a unique or very rare specimen, or can be picked up in half the junk shops of Europe or the Levant. Dealers' sale catalogues—a form of literature which ancient historians can hardly be expected to read—stress the rarities, and probably quite ignore the common types. But collectors and museum officials—and most numismatists are one or the other—know the market, and could presumably give rough estimates, which, however rough, would assist the economic historian. If I may ask a few specimen questions which would interest me; could it be estimated how many aurei and denarii were annually minted in the reigns of the successive emperors from Augustus to Septimius Severus relatively to the number of aurei and antoniniani (or denarii) minted

annually from the reign of Caracalla to that of Aurelian? Was there, as the literary sources would suggest, an abnormally heavy output of aurei in the latter part of Trajan's reign? Again, what was the relative volume of Diocletian's gold and silver issues to those of Constantine? On historical grounds I should conjecture that Diocletian's issues were meagre, and that large quantities of gold and silver only began to be minted in the last years of Constantine, and under his sons. But can this conjecture be tested by the numismatic evidence? Or again did silver and bronze coins virtually cease to be issued after A.D. 395 and did solidi continue to be minted in great abundance?

Coins when minted have to be put into circulation. When privately owned bullion was brought or sent in for minting, the coins would naturally be issued to the owner of the bullion. We have no direct record of this procedure, and indeed in 369 Valens ordered that if any private person was so presumptuous as voluntarily to offer his own gold to the mint, it was to be confiscated; five years later he revoked this (to us) extraordinary ruling retrospectively and allowed privately owned gold already received to be minted and issued to the owner less a charge of two ounces in the pound (one-sixth).¹ It would seem, then, that the imperial government in the fourth century A.D. normally refused to mint privately owned gold for the owner: he could, however, use it to pay his taxes, or sell it to the treasury for debased denarii. For silver the practice may have been different. Otherwise it is difficult to explain a rather curious phenomenon that numismatists have noted, that a very large number of silver coins of the fourth century minted in Gaul or even farther afield have been found in the neighbourhood of the silver mines of the Mendips. Either the mines were privately exploited, or, if they were state owned, the miners were entitled to keep a proportion of the silver extracted; the miners must have sent their own silver to the nearest mint (which was a long way away) and got it back (doubtless less minting charges) in coin.

For the coins minted from publicly owned bullion (either the product of mines, or confiscated plate, or coins received in taxation and melted down) we have no direct evidence, but, from what we know of the very simple fiscal methods of ancient governments, it is likely that most gold and silver coins were paid directly as wages and

¹ *CTh.* ix. xxi. 7, 8.

salaries to government employees, to contractors for services rendered, or to merchants for goods bought. The location of a mint, incidentally, has no necessary relation to the place where the coins were put into circulation, though mints, under the later empire at any rate, were mostly sited near the main centres of payment: one may note the concentration of mints at Constantinople and nearby (Nicomedia and Cyzicus), where there was, besides the court, a heavy concentration of officials and troops.

The circulation of the small change, of bronze, copper, or brass, presents more of a problem. Here there is a curious anomaly, which no numismatist or historian has seriously attempted to solve, that under the principate imperial (or public) mints provided the small change in the Latin-speaking provinces of the empire, whereas in the Greek-speaking provinces city mints did so. That the imperial government made no attempt to enforce a monopoly of small change in the East is all the more surprising, because the coins of these low denominations were not intrinsically worth their face value, were in fact a token coinage, and therefore would have provided a profit for the mint. How the imperial small change was put into circulation in the West is quite unknown; we can only conjecture that money-changers bought it (with silver and gold coins). In the East the city governments minted copper, and presumably sold it to the local money-changers, who often were concessionaries enjoying a local monopoly, for imperial silver and gold, thereby making a profit for civic funds. There was, as far as we can tell, no minting profit on the gold and silver coins. This is certainly true of the later Roman empire, when the treasury was equally willing to receive gold taxes in bullion by the pound or in *solidi*¹ (which were weighed to make sure that they were 72 to the pound, and after A.D. 366 were melted down on receipt), and always dealt in silver by the pound. Diocletian's tariff² fixes the same price (in *denarii*) for gold in bar or coin.

The progressive debasement of the *denarius* (and of the *antoninianus*) from the period of the Severi gradually killed both the imperial bronze and copper and the civic issues. As the *denarius* itself became a silver-plated copper coin worth about 0.5 per cent. of its

¹ *CTh.* XII. vii. 1.

² *xxx.* 1.

second-century value, smaller change became unnecessary. When Constantine re-established a gold and silver currency, the degenerate descendants of the denarius continued to be struck (in vast quantities) by imperial mints. How these coins passed into circulation is again unknown, but probably once more mainly through money-changers: we know that at Rome the duty of the official guild of money-changers (*collectarii*) was to buy solidi from the public, at the market rate, with copper coins which they bought from a local treasury (the *arca vinaria*) with these same solidi, at a rate fixed by the government.¹ It is probable that the imperial government in the fourth century pursued a deliberate policy of buying in solidi with token money, and that this may account for the extraordinary inflation of the denarius, which in Egypt exchanged with the solidus at figures like 30,000,000 to one. But this is highly speculative.²

How far ancient states, in particular the Roman empire, had any currency policy is very difficult to divine. The coins themselves are almost the only evidence, but great caution is needed in building any theories upon them. On the surviving evidence the economic knowledge of the ancients was childish,³ and it is safer to postulate that the government acted upon very crude notions, e.g. that if the silver content of a denarius was diluted by 10 per cent. alloy, the mint could issue 10 per cent. more denarii to the pound of silver, and that the public would not notice the difference. A very eminent scholar has advanced the theory that Trajan debased the denarius, because he had minted a vast number of aurei, and thereby was disturbing the established 25:1 relation of the denarius to the aureus. This implies that Trajan or his *a rationibus* was aware of the quantity-theory of currency, which is incredible. It is, I suggest, more probable that Trajan first debased the denarius a little to get more denarii for his wars, and then, having acquired the Dacian gold, issued large numbers of aurei in *congiaria* and donatives and to pay for public works. Numismatists could perhaps settle this matter, if Trajanic denarii and aurei are sufficiently closely datable.

We may now turn to the coins when they had passed into circulation.

¹ Symmachus, *Relatio* 29.

² See my article, 'Inflation under the Roman Empire', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 1953, p. 313.

³ For the fourth century A.D. read the naïve remarks of the *Anonymus de rebus bellicis*, ii. 1 (critical text, translation and notes in E. A. Thompson, *A Roman Reformer and Inventor*).

It would be convenient for economic historians to know what the coins which we possess were called in antiquity. The question is not as simple as it sounds, for the terminology of money is and always has been complex, and very few ancient coins bear any mark of value. Even in present-day England we keep our accounts in £ s. d., but we handle and speak of half-crowns and florins as well, and doctors make up their bills in a purely notional unit of currency called a guinea: future numismatists may be puzzled to identify the twentieth-century guinea, alluded to in the literary sources. In a rather more backward country, Egypt, the current terminology is even more complex and irrational. Officially accounts are kept in the £E, which is divided into 1,000 milliemes: nothing smaller than a 5-millieme piece is, I believe, now minted. In ordinary speech the common terms are the pound (*Arabice* guinea) and an officially non-existent unit of 10 milliemes called by Europeans a *piastre* and by Egyptians *gursh* (the words *gursh tarifa* rather confusingly mean 5 milliemes in Arabic). This unit is also a coin (marked 10 milliemes). The coins marked 20, 50, and 100 milliemes are commonly known in Arabic as half a franc, a shilling, and half a *real* respectively.

The situation in some periods of antiquity was fully as complicated as this, with the additional difficulty that most of the coins had no names or numbers on them. The Romans during the first two centuries of the principate (perhaps later, but evidence is lacking) usually kept their accounts in sesterii, though the commonest coins were the denarius (= 4 sesterii) and a gold coin (= 100 sesterii). The denarius was usually known in the East as a drachma (often for old times' sake called an Attic drachma as late as the early fourth century A.D.).¹ The gold coin was usually known in Latin as an aureus, in Greek as a χρυσός, in Aramaic as a denarius: this name continued to be applied to the standard imperial gold coin in Semitic tongues, being transferred to the solidus, and eventually to the Arabic gold dinar.² Numismatists naturally use the Latin terms, and long ago identified the relevant coins.

With the third century difficulties arise: the name and face value

¹ IGR i. 588; iii. 1047; iv. 182, 842, 872, 887, 1185, 1360. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* ix. 8, 4. P. Oslo, iii. 83. PSI 965. P. Oxy. 2113.

² This is the practice of the Aramaic inscriptions of Palmyra, of the *Lex Syro-Romana* (Riccobono, *Fontes iuris romani anteiustiniani*², ii. 759-98) and of Syriac hagiographers.

of the coins which numismatists call 'antoniniani', and of the coins marked XX.1, issued by Aurelian and his successors, are a matter of conjecture. From the reign of Constantine onwards the terminology of the standard gold pieces is undisputed: 'solidus' in Latin, νόμισμα or ὀλοκοττινός in Greek, 'denarius' in Syriac. The silver is a complete tangle, and numismatists have not helped matters by assigning to the various denominations names, some of which are certainly wrong and others conjectural. There was a silver coin called the 'milliarensis', and that is all we know about it.¹ There was no coin called 'siliqua'. The siliqua (Greek κεράτιον) was an accounting unit, and meant one twenty-fourth of a solidus:² thus a semissis = 12 siliquae; a tremissis in the early and middle fourth century = 9 siliquae, from Theodosius onwards = 8 siliquae;³ and a worn or clipped solidus was spoken of (in Egypt at any rate) as a solidus minus X siliquae (νόμισμα παρὰ X κεράτια). The bronze is an even worse tangle. Numismatists have dubbed the largest Diocletianic coin a 'foliis'. What little evidence there is suggests that it was known as a 'nummus' and tariffed at 25 'denarii communes'.⁴ The meaning of the term 'foliis' is quite obscure; it seems in fact to have meant quite different coins (or units of account) in different provinces at different

¹ The milliarensis is known from (a) *Not. Dig. Or.* xiii. 30 and *Occ.* xi. 96 (cf. *CTh.* vi. xxx. 7, *brevis* 10 = *CJ.* xii. xxxvii. 7); (b) Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii*, 100; (c) Johannes Moschus, *Prat. Spir.* 185; (d) the metrologists *passim* (see the indexes of F. Hultsch, *Metrologorum Scriptorum Reliquiae*). (a) show that in the officium of the comes sacrarum largitionum there were *scrinia aureae massae, auri ad responsum, ab argento, a miliarensibus, and a pecuniis*. These probably mean gold bullion, gold coin, silver bullion, silver coin, copper coin. (b) records a transaction in which the milliarensis seems to be a coin of low value, probably bronze. (c) uses the word for a Persian (probably silver) coin current at Nisibis. (d) tell us that the milliarensis was so called because it was used to pay *milites* (this is the favourite view), or because it was equal to 1,000 obols, or because it was equal to 1/1,000 lb. gold. All three statements are patently 'etymological', and probably equally worthless.

² My numismatic friends are shocked by this statement, but I can find no allusion to the siliqua or κεράτιον as a coin in the legal texts (*CTh.* xii. iv. 1; *Theod. Nov.* xxii. 2, = *CJ.* x. xxxvi. 1; *Val. Nov.* xv. xxxiv; *Maj. Nov.* vii; *CJ.* viii. xii. 1; *rv.* xxxii. 26), where it always must or may mean $\frac{1}{24}$ solidus; nor in the metrologists (Hultsch, indexes s.v. 'siliqua', κεράτιον), where it is always a weight, $\frac{1}{2}$ scruple; nor in the papyri, where κεράτιον is always an accounting unit, $\frac{1}{24}$ solidus (see West and Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, p. 129). As the pound of silver was officially valued sometimes at 4 and sometimes at 5 solidi, a silver coin could not have represented $\frac{1}{24}$ solidus (see *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 1953, p. 302).

³ There is no doubt that the later coin which weighed one-third of a solidus was called a tremissis. That the older coins of $1\frac{1}{2}$ scruples were also called tremisses is proved by the *Liber de Asse*, 16 (Hultsch ii. 74).

⁴ *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 1953, pp. 317-18.

periods. The modern numismatic terms, *Aes* I, II, III, IV, are useful and not misleading for the fourth-century coins, various denominations of which were known in Latin as *denarii* or *nummi* (perhaps *folles*) according to local usage.

We are so used to the fixed relationship of £ *s. d.* that we find it rather difficult to believe that different denominations of one currency have not always been exchanged at fixed ratios. The literary evidence, though scanty, strongly suggests that for two centuries and more, from Augustus to Septimius Severus, a standard relation was generally accepted between the aureus, denarius, sestertius, and as (1 aureus = 25 denarii; 1 denarius = 4 sestertii = 16 asses). But even in this monetarily stable period the papyri have revealed strange complications in the currency of Egypt.¹ Here the standard coin was called an (Alexandrian) tetradrachm, though equal in value with an (Attic) drachma (in other words a denarius); there were also smaller denominations, whose names and values the combined efforts of papyrologists and numismatists have failed to discover. Accounts were kept in drachmae and obols. In the normal Greek usage 6 obols went to a drachma, and in some accounts this rule is observed; but in others the drachma is reckoned to be worth 7 or $7\frac{1}{4}$ obols. The whole question is exceedingly complex, but the explanation would seem to be that, if someone wanted to buy a tetradrachm from a money-changer, he had to pay 28 or 29 copper obols, according to market rates, and not 24. Some clerks used the term obol as a notional unit of account ($\frac{1}{8}$ drachma or $\frac{1}{24}$ tetradrachm); some meant by an obol the actual copper piece, which in practice went 28 or 29 to the tetradrachm. A drachma similarly could be an accounting unit (4 to the tetradrachm) or 6 copper obols or a larger copper coin tarified at 6 obols.

After the great inflation of the mid-third century A.D. the currency remained in a chaotic condition for about two centuries. Numismatists have attempted to work out neat systems for Diocletian's and Constantine's coinages, whereby one aureus or solidus was divided into so many silver coins (which they call *siliquae*, *milliarensia*, &c.), and one silver coin into so many copper coins (which they call *folles*, *denarii*, &c.). There is very good evidence that in fact there was no

¹ West and Johnson, *op. cit.*, ch. 5; cf. also *Class. Phil.* 1949, p. 236; 1951, p. 34; 1952, p. 216; and *Chron. d'Égypte*, 1953, p. 356.

fixed relation between gold, silver, and copper coins, but that they exchanged at fluctuating rates according to the market, that is, what a money-changer was prepared to offer on a particular day in a particular place.¹

Another interesting problem, to which numismatists have contributed much by the study of hoards, is that of the life of an ancient coin. This of course varied greatly between types of coin. Some became 'favourites' in certain areas, and continued to circulate for centuries, and when the originals wore out, copies were struck: a famous modern parallel is the Maria Theresa dollar, which is still legal tender in Abyssinia. Where and when and by whom these copies were struck only numismatists can tell us, and with only provenance and typological development to guide them they cannot always speak with assurance. A Palmyrene inscription² strongly suggests, if it does not prove, that beyond the eastern frontier the 'ancient gold denarius' (the pre-Neronian aureus) was still in A.D. 193 a 'favourite coin' which Persian merchants readily accepted, perhaps at a premium, and that Palmyrene merchants still held large stocks of them. This throws some light on the curious fact that Julio-Claudian coins are far commoner in India than later ones, and also shows how dangerous it is to argue from dated coins the dates of economic events; by themselves the coins suggest that the import of Indian goods into the Roman empire fell off markedly from about A.D. 60, but the trade may have gone on for centuries, and the old coins have been used to pay for the surplus of imports over exports. The same considerations apply to dating political events by numismatic evidence. I doubt, for instance, whether the coins will yield much evidence on the date when Britain ceased to be effectively a part of the Roman empire, until we find out a great deal more not only about the volume of coins of various denominations which the imperial mints were issuing in the relevant period, but also by what channels these coins passed into circulation, and what the 'currency habits', if I may so call them, of the public in the western dioceses of the empire were. Did people prefer old coins, which were of better quality than the new ones, either for that reason or from force of

¹ *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 1953, p. 302.

² *CIS* ii. 3, i. 3948 (Greek text in *IGR* iii. 1050).

habit? Some constitutions of the Theodosian Code indicate that very occasionally the imperial government enacted that certain old (probably bronze) issues were no longer legal tender.¹ But the numismatic evidence accords with all we know about the inability of the imperial government to enforce its laws. A numismatist has recently very convincingly demonstrated that not only Diocletianic 'folles' but second-century sestertii and dupondii were still circulating in quantity in Italy and Africa in the latter part of the fifth century A.D., being tariffed by money-changers at sums like 80 or 40 contemporary 'nummi' or 'denarii'.

Coins can also yield useful information about trade. When, for instance, Roman imperial coins are found in large numbers in India, it is legitimate to deduce that by direct or indirect channels merchants in the Roman empire bought Indian goods, and that the goods exported from India to the Roman empire exceeded in value the goods exported from the Roman empire to India. In this case direct trade is attested by literary and epigraphic sources, and the period when trade flourished by other objects of Roman provenance than coins found in India. The coins are in fact not very useful evidence of either the date or the channels of trade; 'favourite' coins, as I said before, might have a life of three or four centuries. Such coins might circulate for a long while over a wide area, so that, for instance, fifty Tiberian aurei used by a Palmyrene merchant to pay an Arab or Persian merchant at Spasinou Charax under Septimius Severus might subsequently be used by the heirs of that Persian or Arab merchant to pay for goods from India in A.D. 300.

The coins attest only unbalanced trade. The finds of Athenian tetradrachms over a vast area prove (what we know already from Xenophon's *Vectigalia*²) that the Athenians paid for imports from all quarters mainly in silver coins, of which they produced a surplus from the Laurium mines. These Attic tetradrachms were 'favourites' which circulated or were imitated in many remote parts, such as Arabia. The coins may also reflect other types of transaction than trade. The Roman emperors from time to time paid subsidies to various barbarian kings beyond the Rhine and the Danube in denarii,

¹ CTh. ix. xciii. 1, 2.

² iii. 2.

aurei, or later in solidi. These subsidies were fairly regular, and at times very large—between 443 and 450 the government of Theodosius II paid Attila altogether 18,600 lb. gold, or nearly 1,280,000 solidi, apart from ransoms for Roman prisoners. Many of these solidi were no doubt melted down into jewellery or plate: others returned to the empire in payment for Roman luxury goods, others may have been paid to merchants within and beyond Attila's empire. Solidi found in Norway do not necessarily attest Roman trade with that country.

If I may attempt to sum up my general conclusions, one would be that numismatists by pursuing their own science for its own sake by their normal methods produce evidence which may be and often is useful to historians. Professor Grant's discovery or identification of the coins of many Caesarian, triumviral, or Augustan colonies and municipia is a striking instance of this. But the supreme example is Mr. Mattingly's multifarious work. I can cite only a few examples, such as the correct dating of the earliest Roman denarii, the five volumes of the British Museum Catalogue of Roman Imperial Coins from Augustus to Elagabalus, and six volumes of *Roman Imperial Coinage*, issued under his editorship, which so far classify the coins of the period from the beginning of the Principate to the accession of Diocletian, and from the accession of Valentinian I to the death of Theodosius II. To fix the exact date and mint of any coin, where this is possible, may well provide important historical evidence. Failing this, to range issues in chronological sequence and assign them to possible mints may be useful: but historians would like to know when the evidence is stylistic (and therefore to some degree subjective) or when it is derived from overstrikes, die-identities, mint-marks, or other technical data which yield objectively certain results. Above all historians appreciate catalogues which tabulate all available information.

If numismatists wish further to assist historians, I would suggest that they pay less attention to the political interpretation of the coins. In this once neglected sphere a vast amount of valuable work has been done by numismatists in the last thirty years, but latterly the value of the numismatic evidence has tended to be overstrained, and its interpretation has become over-subtle. I would suggest that if

they wish to move out of their own field, they could do immensely valuable work for the economic historian by giving him such information as I have suggested above—estimating the relative volume of issues and the life of the various coins, investigating ancient numismatic nomenclature, the sources of bullion, the processes whereby coins were put into circulation, and the currency habits of the public. Several of the articles in this volume show that numismatists are in fact moving in this direction. The young science of ancient economic history will profit greatly by their work.

III

PUNIC COINS OF SPAIN AND THEIR BEARING ON THE ROMAN REPUBLICAN SERIES

By E. S. G. ROBINSON

THE coins struck by the Barcids in Spain have a twofold interest for the student of early Roman numismatics: directly in that some types pass from one country to the other, and others back again, indirectly as showing the political, economic, and cultural background of the period. Either approach uncovers important chronological conclusions, and it was when investigating such problems with the old colleague, and old friend, to whom this volume pays tribute, that many of the observations and views here put forward originally suggested themselves. That was nearly thirty years ago, τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης, when most scholars could still believe that the denarius was first issued in 269–8 B.C.; but although some of the views to be developed have already found incidental expression elsewhere,¹ it still seems worth while to give the subject substantive and detailed treatment as a whole.

There are at least eight different issues of this Barcid coinage, and I have tried to place them in chronological order. The arrangement is based partly on style, but more on historical considerations and the interpretation of types, &c., to be put forward later. For convenience it is set out dogmatically, but has, of course, no absolute validity,

¹ Those particularly concerning the portraiture were communicated to the Royal Numismatic Society (*NC Proc.* 1930, p. 4) and used by Mr. G. P. Baker in his book *Scipio*. When the latter was translated into Spanish in 1943, they appear to have aroused interest and some criticism; see particularly Antonio Beltrán, 'Acuñaciones Púnicas de Cartagena', *Crónica del III Congr. Arqueol. de Murcia*, pp. 224 ff., and 'Iconografía Numismática; retratos de los Barkidas en las monedas . . . de Cartagena', *Boletín Arqueol.* xlix (1949), pp. 1 ff. and references to other Spanish articles there cited. My friend Dr. H. H. Scullard has also worked out some of the implications of the connexions between Barcid and Campanian coins in his article 'Hannibal's Elephants' *NC* 1948, pp. 158 ff.

though I believe it to be substantially correct. To avoid cumbering the ground the full description of the coins and, where possible, the strictly numismatic detail are relegated to the Appendix on p. 45.

The richness and variety of the coinage have not always been recognized. This is partly due to the isolation of Spain, to which country its circulation was practically confined,¹ but more to the unfortunate belief, long prevalent among early numismatists and still frequently met with, that most of the coins in question were struck in Africa by later Numidian or Mauretanian rulers.² Their attribution to the Barcids in Spain, however, can be firmly based on the evidence of finds, style, and types, and has long been recognized by Spanish scholars from Zobel onwards.³

When the War of the Mercenaries, which followed on the first Punic war, was finished, and Hamilcar Barca left for Spain in 237 B.C. to 'call a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old', the finances of Carthage were at a low ebb. The consolidation of her position in Africa may have gone some way to offset the loss of Sicily and Sardinia, but the two wars at home and abroad, one disastrous, both exhausting, had emptied the treasury, and she was further faced with the obligation of paying a heavy yearly indemnity to Rome. The currency was deeply debased. To this period at Carthage itself seem to belong the shekels of base metal which, until the discovery of a hoard at El Djem in southern Tunisia some twenty years ago, had always been taken for bronze coins.⁴

SERIES I. *Gades*

Pieces of similar style, fabric, and alloy to the El Djem coins, but with an Athena-like head accompanying the Carthaginian horse or palm-tree (Appendix, nos. 1(a-f) Pl. I), are found in southern Spain, and their relative date and category can be determined by a specimen in the Newell Collection which is actually overstruck over one of the

¹ A specimen of the half-shekel No. 8 (b) in the de Luynes Coll. (J. Babelon, *Cat.* 3962) was found in Campania.

² In particular L. Müller, *Numismatique de l'Afrique du Nord*, iii, pp. 13 ff., lent his great authority in its support, and he has been followed by Head in the *Historia Numorum*.

³ *Estudio histórico de la moneda española*; cf. A. Vives, *La Moneda Hispánica*, who gives two plates (vii, viii) of Barcid coins, which include most of the varieties; Beltrán, *opp. cit.*, &c.

⁴ Müller, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 98, nos. 230-3. The hoard is now in the B.M. The coins in their metal surprisingly anticipate Roman antoniniani of the later 3rd century A.D.

El Djem issues. It is difficult to name this head and there is nothing quite like its headgear, which seems to be a mere framework carrying a central and side crests, with the hair showing through in the space between them (Fig. 1 B). The nearest parallels are one Roman and another Capuan: the head called Hera on a triens of the semi-libral series perhaps issued in Campania about 225 B.C. (Fig. 1 A), and a head of Athena on a quincunx of Capua in revolt (215-211).¹ The first seems to have the otherwise unknown framework with vizor-like rim and side-crest and the hair showing above it, though it lacks the central crest which gives our head its look of Athena. On the second the bowl of the helmet is covered with hair or skin. The suggested typological link would not, of course, imply that one engraver was consciously influenced by another, only that each reproduced a short-lived fashion or stylistic trick of the time and cultural area to which all three belonged. The alloy of these base coins implies that they date from the early years of Hamilcar's régime, before he had amassed sufficient wealth by plunder or mining to allow a coinage of fine silver. They are accompanied by two bronze denominations: the larger with both types the same as the billon, the smaller with a palm-tree replacing the horse. The mint was most likely Gades, where Hamilcar made his headquarters on landing.

SERIES 2. *Gades*

That issue, which cannot have lasted more than three or four years, was followed by a second, more extended and struck in gold, silver, and bronze, the precious metals now being of good quality (nos. 2 (a-q), Pl. I). One may guess that its inauguration followed Hamilcar's conquest in 235 of the Turdetani (Tartessians), whose country was so rich in metals. The various denominations carry stock Carthaginian types, Tanit-Persephone with palm-tree, horse, or horse's head, except for two bold innovations, a head of the Greek Nike on the gold pieces, and a helmet on the lowest bronze denomination (nos. 2(a-e), 2(p, q), Pl. I). The silver pieces are found as far west as southern Portugal, while the mint-marks on the bronze repeat those of the first issue. The mint, therefore, should still be Gades, and the provenance of the smallest bronze coin reinforces this conclusion. This second

¹ BMCRR ii, p. 135, no. 113 ff.; Capua, A. Sambon, *Mon. ant. de l'Italie*, i, p. 396, no. 1024.



FIG. 1. A. Capua. B. Hispano-Punic (Gades?)
See p. 36

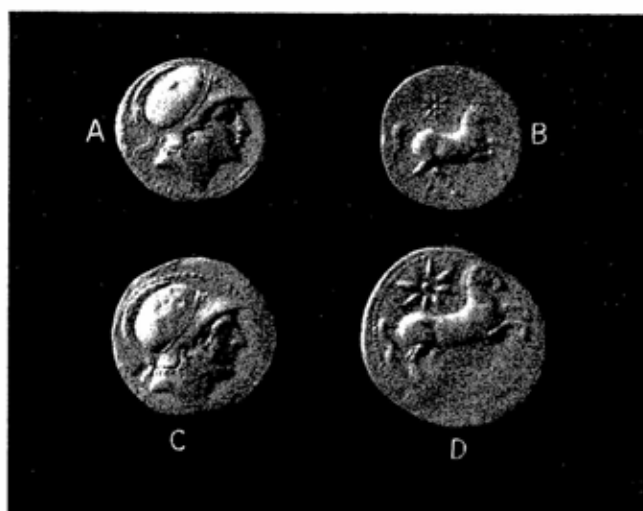


FIG. 2. Roman silver nummi: A. obv. B. rev.
Hispano-Punic: C. bronze, obv. D. Silver shekel, rev.
See pp. 37 and 38

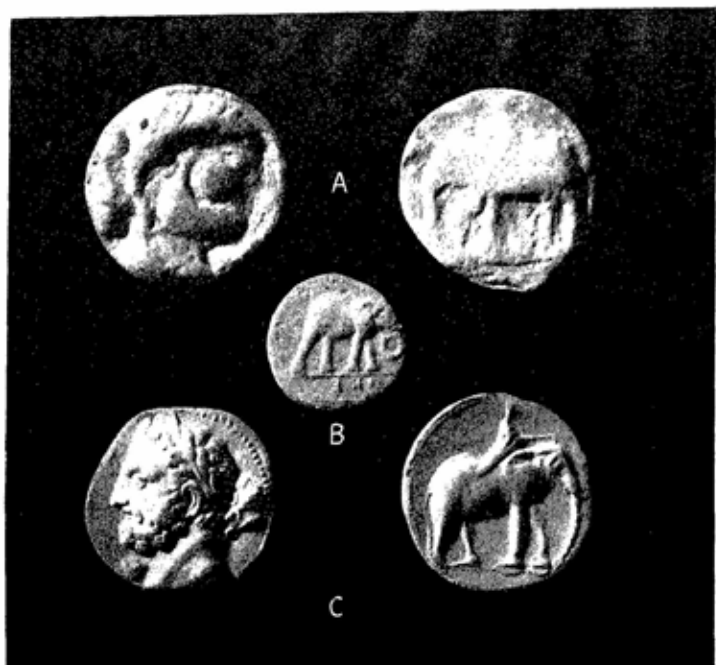


FIG. 3. A. Italian aes grave. B. Atella. C. Hispano-Punic
See p. 40

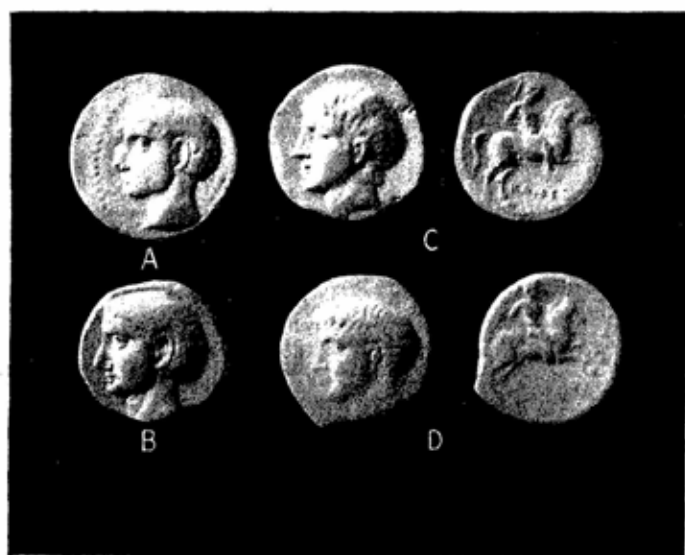


FIG. 4. A, B. Hispano-Roman? C, D. Canusium
See pp. 41-42

issue is a more important one and may well have overlapped in time some of those which followed it elsewhere.

SERIES 3. *The White Cape, or New Carthage?*

The year 231 saw an eastward concentration of Carthaginian activity and the occupation of a new stronghold, the White Cape (Λευκή Ἀκρά) beyond Cape Nao. While the mint of Gades was left in operation, another mint may have been temporarily opened and a small series (nos. 3(a-c), Pl. II) struck here either under Hamilcar Barca or shortly after his death by Hasdrubal. Though the types, with one notable exception, are taken from the Carthaginian repertory, the style and treatment are very different from those of Gades, and show strong traces of the influence of Roman coinage; for the prancing horse, with a star above, on no. 3 (a) (Pl. II, and Fig. 2D) seems to have been directly suggested by the earlier Roman nummus with the same reverse type and a head of Apollo on the obverse (Fig. 2B).¹

SERIES 4. *New Carthage*

The next series is an exciting one (nos. 4(a-d), Pl. II). Some unevenness of execution suggests fine prototypes indifferently copied. The best dies are so close in style to the preceding series that they may well be due to the same moneyers. However that may be, the two series are closely connected, for coins of both were found together in the Seville hoard² which otherwise contained only silver ingots. The gold shekel now reappears and the high silver denominations so characteristic of later Barcid issues begin with a double shekel. The types are quite new and of especial interest. The obverses show a diademed head with a general resemblance to that on contemporary coins of Hiero II of Syracuse, though usually with deeper set eye and more strongly marked features. The reverse has the prow of a war galley, its deck piled with shields and the admiral's pennant flying from the wreathed post at the bow. Both types are obviously topical. Now in 230-29 there had been a native revolt. Hamilcar fell in battle,

¹ BMCRR ii, p. 124, no. 22.

² Numario Hispánico, i, 1952, p. 63.

and Hasdrubal, who had been his father-in-law's trierarch,¹ succeeded. In the following year he was able to restore the Carthaginian position, and buttressed it by the foundation of New Carthage which replaced the White Cape as the seat of government. One may think that the new viceroy especially chose these types to commemorate his power by sea and land. Then the head, which must be the portrait of a ruler, can only be Hasdrubal's; and the coins, which remind us more of Sicilian or Syrian kings than of Carthage, help to supplement and illustrate the scattered notices that have come down to us of this remarkable man. He was no mere successful soldier but a brilliant administrator who could see the potentialities of New Carthage as a capital compared with the White Cape; a liberal-minded man who preferred clemency to force, and widely extended Carthaginian suzerainty in a few years by diplomacy instead of war. His second marriage to an Iberian chieftain's daughter, and his consequent recognition as supreme commander by the Iberian tribes, lend colour to the charge that he was aiming at independent rule,² and the diademed portrait of our coins certainly points the same way. It shows too, like his other types, how fully he belonged to the Hellenistic world. This coinage seems to have provided the model for those of the Numidian Kings Syphax and Vermina, which closely resemble it in conception.³

With some hesitation I have placed here the remarkable bronze (no. 4(d), Pl. II, and Fig. 2 c), with the helmeted and whiskered head, which is a close copy, down to the little griffin on the helmet, of the later Roman nummus with the head of Mars (Fig. 2 A).⁴ These were years of considerable diplomatic activity between Rome and the Barcids, and the type, like the prancing horse with star on the shekel of the preceding series (no. 3(a), Pl. II, and Fig. 2 D), also inspired by a Roman nummus, testifies to a lively intercourse. Whether actually struck at the White Cape or New Carthage, both coins are certainly of the Barcid period, and their chronological implications for the Roman coinage obvious.

¹ Polybius, ii. 1. 9.

² Polybius, x. 10. 9.

³ Müller, *op. cit.*, *Suppl.* p. 69.

⁴ *BMCRR* ii, p. 129, no. 57. There seems nothing in common between the head of 4(d) and that on the silver Cilician stater of Pharnabazos, of the early 4th century B.C., to which Beltrán (*Crónica*, *cit.*, pp. 235-6) compares it, save that both wear helmets.

SERIES 5. *New Carthage*

The next series (nos. 5(a-d), Pl. II) adds a still larger denomination, the triple shekel, to the existing double shekel and shekel. This denomination was continued in the two following series (nos. 6(b) and 7(b), Pls. II and III), and it seems significant that the first issue of these exceptionally large pieces began soon after the final payment of the indemnity to Rome in 228 B.C. The silver previously exported as bullion to meet this liability was now released for coinage. Though a conventional Carthaginian horse replaces the prow on the reverse, the head, which now wears a laureate diadem, is smoothly idealized and resembles an Apollo. It is still thoroughly Hellenistic in feeling, as is the bearded head in the lionskin on the half-shekel (no. 5(c), Pl. II). Perhaps the one should be called Eshmun, who had an important temple at New Carthage;¹ the other is certainly Melkart. We may presume that this and the next two series also were struck in the new capital.

SERIES 6. *New Carthage*

Hasdrubal was assassinated in 221 and Hannibal succeeded. The following series (nos. 6(a-d), Pl. II) probably marks the new régime, though it may have begun under Hasdrubal. The types again are fresh. Ostensibly the head is that of Melkart assimilated to a different type of the Greek Herakles, laureate, with club at shoulder; once, on the double shekel (no. 6(a), Pl. II), he is bearded, otherwise smooth-chinned. But, in spite of the attributes, the heads, with their strongly marked features and close-curling hair, show so much of the African Semite that one may suspect the engraver of having individual models in mind. Then, while the young Melkart on the bulk of the coins must have the features of Hannibal, those of the fine, bearded Melkart on the opening double shekel should be Hamilcar's. Such a reference to his father by Hannibal on succeeding to his command would not be out of character. The style, with its high relief and excellent execution, is still Hellenistic rather than Carthaginian, and so is the quasi-portrait—the reflection of the human ruler in the divine. Parallels for the latter, apart from many of the issues of Alexander the Great, can be found, for example, among the Alexander tetradrachms

¹ *RE* iii, s.v. Carthago Nova, col. 1623; Polybius x. 10. 8, who calls him Asklepios. He can, however, be Apolline and beardless.

of Demetrios Poliorketes, on the didrachm of Pyrrhos with the head of Achilles, or in the Pan on a tetradrachm of Antigonos Gonatas.¹ The elephant is of the African type, with large ear, short trunk, and concave back.² On the double shekel alone (no. 6(a)) is the beast shown with his rider. Silver is the only metal now coined, and the wide range of denominations, triple shekel, double shekel, triple half-shekel, down to quarter-shekel, bears witness to the intense exploitation of the mines.

Both types find echoes in the Roman world: the elephant at Velecha and Campanian Atella in revolt (215 B.C., Fig. 3 B),³ the young head with club at shoulder on the victoriates of the restored Saguntum from the close of the century onwards.⁴ Most surprising of all are the cast trientes and sextantes of a semi-libral series of Aes grave inscribed *Mel* . . ., perhaps for Meles in Samnium,⁵ certainly from southern Italy. In spite of the rough style it is obvious that the reverse of the triens, and both sides of the sextans (Fig. 3 A), are directly copied from the double shekel with the bearded head (Fig. 3 C), down to such details as the club and the elephant-rider. It should be emphasized that this is not just a general topical allusion to the Carthaginian army, but a looking-glass copy, though in another form and metal, of a Carthaginian coin which was not struck before the late twenties of the third century B.C.; further, that, *ex hypothesi*, it shows the semi-libral standard to have been still in use at the time of issue, and that this, again, can only have been a time of revolt against Rome.

SERIES 7. *New Carthage*

After a few years, perhaps in 218 B.C. when Hannibal left for Italy and handed over command in Spain to his brother Hasdrubal, the types are modified. In the new series (nos. 7 (a-p), Pls. II and III), in which the silver consists of a large triple shekel, again with accompanying shekels and half- and quarter-shekels, the head is always bare and beardless, though otherwise at first much the same in manner and

¹ Demetrios: Newell, *Demetrius Poliorketes*, pl. vi. 10 and *passim*; Pyrrhos: *BMC Thessaly*, etc., pl. xx. 11; Antigonos: Gaebler, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands*, iii. 2, pp. 185-6, nos. 1-2.

² Gowers and Scullard in *NC* 1950, p. 278.

³ A. Sambon, *op. cit.*, p. 414, no. 1064 for Velecha; p. 409, no. 1056 for Atella.

⁴ Hill, 'Anc. Coinage of Hispania Citerior', *NNM* 50, 117, pl. xxi, nos. 12-14.

⁵ Scullard in *NC* 1948, p. 165; Haebler, *Aes Grave*, i, pp. 175 f. and Taf. 69, nos. 37-41.

execution. The elephant on the reverse, however, gives way to the old Punic type, horse and palm-tree, which may show a strengthening of the ties with home at the fateful moment of the outbreak of war. This is the commonest of all the Barcid issues and there are several varieties of the smaller pieces bearing different mint-marks.

It was interrupted by Scipio's surprising capture of New Carthage in 209, a *coup de main* so sudden that he was able to take the military installations and workshops intact with their 2,000 artificers.¹ Among the booty was a large amount of coined silver as well as of bullion—presumptive evidence, if such were needed, for the existence of a mint. Scipio at once set the artificers to work, with the promise of liberty at the end of the war if they did well; and it is fair to conclude that among these were the moneyers of the mint; for, if not at once, after a certain interval, there comes a significant modification of the head on the obverse. The hair is no longer rendered in short, tight curls, but close cropped and cut in a straight fringe along the forehead, while the nose has a pronounced bridge to it. At first the relief is as high and the style as careful as in the preceding coins. The relief, however, soon flattens out and the style coarsens; the eye becomes exaggerated and the hair tends to revert to short curls. A hundred years ago that excellent numismatist, W. S. V. Vaux, remarked on the Roman character of these heads,² and the contrast with what goes before is indeed striking. The Punic features of Melkart have become Roman.

The change from Punic to Roman rule was so sudden that the type need not have been modified instantly. The coinage continued, with the same weight-standard, on the old lines, except that bronze with the 'Roman' head appears at the lower end of the scale, and that at the other no more high-value denominations were struck, perhaps because it was now intended for current use only and no longer to build up reserves as well. Among the later issues with the Punic head one or two of those with mint-marks (nos. 7(e-f)) are of lighter, fluctuating weight, and might belong to the beginning of the Roman period. The earliest and best of the dies for the 'Roman' head (Fig. 4 A, B) have individual features as pronounced as had their predecessors

¹ *opifices ad duo milia . . . argenti infecti signatique decem et octo milia et CCC pondo*, Livy xxvi. 47. 2 and 7. Cf. Polybius x. 17. 9 and 19. 1-2.

² NC 1863, p. 102.

with the Punic head. Strangely enough a rare bronze coin of Canusium (Fig. 4 C, D) carries a strikingly similar head with a charging lancer on the reverse. Neither type is drawn from the Canusine repertory, nor has the head any symbol or adjunct to explain it, and Dressel in his description in the Berlin Catalogue cautiously marked it 'porträt?'.¹ But a remote and fortunate chance has preserved for us the story of an episode in Scipio's early career that may provide the clue. After the disaster of Cannae the survivors retreated to Canusium where they were received and entertained by a wealthy lady of the district named Busa. Scipio, one of the survivors, then a young military tribune, took the initiative in suppressing a defeatist plot, and, with a colleague, rallied the troops and received command. When the war was over, Busa received special honours for her patriotic action from the Senate.² It may be suggested that after Scipio had become famous, the people of Canusium struck this coin with his portrait to commemorate an event which obviously bulked large in local history; and further that the fresh features that the moneyers of New Carthage gave to the head on their obverse dies are Scipio's also, just as those of their earlier dies are basically Hannibal's. The initiative need not have come from Scipio himself, but in any case, the altered type is yet another illustration of his remarkable personal ascendancy. In this connexion we may think of the gold stater struck by Flamininus in 196 B.C., when he had settled the affairs of Greece, which bears his portrait on one side and his name with the Victory type of Alexander on the other.³

The iconography of Scipio is highly unsatisfactory. A family of busts was once thought, mainly on the strength of an inscription on one of them, to represent him in middle-age and quite bald,⁴ and the helmeted head on denarii of Cn. Blasio of 91 B.C.⁵ was connected with them. O. Vessberg is the last to discuss the question.⁶ He rejects the busts, remarking that the inscription has been added in modern

¹ Cf. Berlin. *Beschreibung der ant. Münzen*, iii, p. 190, nos. 1-4. The specimens here illustrated are in the B.M.

² Livy, xxii. 52. 3.

³ Gaebler, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-8, nos. 1-2.

⁴ Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikonographie*, i. 32. I am indebted to Mr. Denys Haynes of the British Museum for his help on this point.

⁵ *BMCRR* ii, p. 294, nos. 620 ff.

⁶ O. Vessberg, *Studien z. Kunstgeschichte der röm. Rep.*, pp. 230-1.

times, and that it is very difficult that Livy, who must have been familiar with a score of Scipio's statues, should stress without qualification his luxuriant hair,¹ even though he may be speaking of his earlier years. He accepts, however, after some strictures on the likeness, the head on the denarii. This really suffers from the same disability, though the moneyer's middle name, if Cornelius—it is not given—and the reverse type, the Capitoline triad, would help the attribution. It bears little resemblance to our heads, which, if the view here advanced is correct, must give us not only the first Roman portrait but two contemporary portraits of Scipio seen through Italian and Hispano-Punic eyes respectively.

Schulten's objection, quoted by Beltrán,² that Scipio would have placed his head on Roman denarii rather than on Punic shekels, besides involving a *petitio principii*, is invalid in view of the portrait which Flamininus put on his Alexander stater. In any case, if the denarius was not yet invented, as most of us now believe, the possibility could not arise.

SERIES 8. *Gades*

This is perhaps the best place to discuss a further issue, shekel, half- and quarter-shekels and bronze (nos. 8(a-d), Pl. III), of which the silver has the same types as that described under no. 6. It is probably somewhat later, for both the head with a wreathed diadem and the elephant are of a different style—more Punic and in lower relief—while the coins themselves are thinner and flatter, with a look of the Roman quadrigatus about them. They have often been given in the past to Jugurtha, and the head has been described as his portrait. But a first-century date would be epigraphically³ as well as stylistically out of the question, and the attribution is on a par with that of other Barcid coins to the later kings of Numidia and Mauretania. Though the evidence from provenance is scanty, it is interesting that one was found in Campania;⁴ and the typological resemblances are so close that the established Barcid coinages must carry this one with them.

¹ Livy xxviii. 35. 6, *promissa caesaries*; cf. Silius Ital. viii. 561.

² *Acuñaiones Púnicas de Cartagena*, p. 235.

³ Any letter on a coin of Jugurtha should have the neo-Punic form.

⁴ See p. 35, n. 1 above.

Mint and date are somewhat uncertain, but the Punic letter *aleph* in the exergue of the reverse, while it *may* be a mere moneyer's mark, could also be the initial of Agadir, the Punic form of Gades. The resumption of coinage in bronze, and with a type, the horse's head, previously used there, also points to this mint. How long Gades, to which the two earliest issues (nos. 1 and 2) were assigned above, continued to function as a mint after it ceased to be the seat of government, is uncertain. The bronze coinage which hardly appeared at other mints may here have lasted longer than the silver. But the silver is not common and seems to have ended about the outbreak of war, perhaps when its types, the horse and palm-tree, were taken over at New Carthage. With the fall of that stronghold in 209, however, Gades became again the centre of Carthaginian power. It may be suggested that this later Melkart/elephant coinage was struck there, beginning possibly a year or two before, but more probably after, 209. The continuation of the horse and palm-tree types under the Romans might be a reason for reversion to the elephant. The features of the diademed, laureate head are again strongly marked, though rather different from any that we have seen so far. Perhaps one of the younger Barcids?

That the coinage of New Carthage should have been continued by the Romans in the way suggested is an interesting illustration of their *ad hoc* approach to problems of provincial administration. In the same way after the absorption of Syria in 64 B.C. the coinage of King Philip, with his types and even his name, was continued on and off for nearly half a century.¹ The Roman coinage at New Carthage did not last so long. It must have continued, however, at least till the end of the war and probably later. Hoards suggest that it was not till the second quarter of the second century that Roman victoriates and Roman and Spanish denarii began to come into circulation; and that, meanwhile, the coinage of New Carthage with the rest of the earlier Barcid issues and the coinages of Saguntum, Gades, and Emporiae helped to fill the gap. The Cheste hoard² buried in the first half of the century illustrates the point. It contained a large number of coins of various Barcid types including some with the 'Roman' head, a

¹ Newell in NC 1919, p. 69.

² Zobel, *Mem. Num. Español*, iv (1877-9), p. 162.

sprinkling of Emporiae and Saguntum, and one of the heavyweight Roman denarii of the earliest type. The general picture is strikingly confirmed by the results of Schulten's excavations of the Roman camps at Numantia where no denarii, only victoriatas, were found in any context before the middle of the century or even later.

Enough has been said to show how Barcid coins can illuminate the history of the Roman Republic and of its coinage from the other side. One of the most striking things about them, as issue follows issue, is the growing difference between them and the coins of Carthage proper. With their bold choices and changes of type they are a world away from the flat, stereotyped products of the metropolitan mint; and their imposing quasi-portraits, and often fine workmanship, show how fully the Barcids were entering into the Hellenistic heritage. There was no such gulf between Scipio and Hannibal as between the first Gelon and his Carthaginian opponent Hamilcar. On the narrowly numismatic side not only do they provide actual and valuable chronological links with the so-called 'Romano-Campanian' silver coinage, and with the cast and struck bronze coinage of the first reduction, which set us definite limits; they also show general characteristics of style and fabric with which the earlier Roman coinage ('Romano-Campanian' and quadrigatus) is, and the denarius is not, compatible.

APPENDIX

The following list¹ comprises all varieties of the Barcid coinage that I know.² Die-positions are regular (↑↑), unless otherwise noted. Our knowledge of the bronze denominations is not sufficient to give them a name. Unless otherwise stated, where a provenance is given it names the place where the coin was obtained, and not necessarily where it was found. None, therefore, except perhaps in the case of the smaller bronzes, need imply a closer attribution than, at best, to a mint in southern Spain. References are to L. Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique* (cited as M.) which still gives the fullest treatment of North African, and in particular, Carthaginian coins as a whole.

¹ The numbers on the plates correspond to the numbers of the coins listed in the Appendix. Where, in the list, a number covers more than one specimen actually illustrated, an asterisk is added to the number, both in the text and on the plate.

² I am indebted to the Keepers of Coins in the British and Ashmolean Museums, to the Director of the Madrid Museum, and to Senor Gomez Moreño for casts and photographs.

SERIES 1. *Gades**Billon*

- 1 (a) *Obv.* Female head l., wearing head-dress with central and side crests, and single-pendant ear-ring; the head-dress appears to be a mere framework consisting of a circular rim carrying the side crest and a hooped crosspiece carrying the central crest; dotted circle.
Rev. Horse standing r.; dotted circle.
 M. ii. 146. 4. Billon, 10.98 gm. Triple half-shekel. B.M. (from Malaga, with another). Pl. I.
- 1 (b) Similar. *Obv.*: beneath chin, Punic letter *yod*.
 M. *ibid.* Billon, 10.95 gm. B.M.
- 1 (c) Similar. *Rev.*: beneath chin, Punic letter *resh*.
 M. *ibid.* Billon, 10.42 gm. B.M.

Bronze

- 1 (d) Similar. *Obv.*: beneath chin, *yod*. *Rev.*: beneath shoulder, *resh*. Thick flan with bevelled edge.
 M. —. Æ, 11.97 gm. B.M.
- 1 (e) *Obv.* Similar; beneath chin, *yod*.
Rev. Palm-tree with two bunches of fruit, dotted circle.
 M. *ibid.* 5. Æ, 6.77 gm. Newell Coll.
- 1 (f) Similar; no letter.
 M. *ibid.* Æ, 4.48 gm. B.M. Pl. I.

SERIES 2. *Gades**Gold*

- 2 (a) *Obv.* Bust of Nike l., with wing at shoulder, wearing single-pendant ear-ring, necklace with pendant drops, and wreath composed of two sprays of bay?, one along the forehead, the other curving upwards to the crown; dotted circle.
Rev. Horse prancing r.: groundline; linear circle.
 M. —. A, 7.58 gm. Shekel. Hunter (Macdonald *Cat.* iii, p. 608, 'Micipsa' no. 1). Pl. I.
- 2 (b) Similar. *Obv.*: linear border. *Rev.*: beneath belly, pellet.
 M. iii. 16. 7. A, 7.50 gm. B.M. (from Madrid). Pl. I.

- 2 (c) Similar. *Obv.*: between wing and neck, branch of bay(?); dotted circle.
M. iii. 16. 6. *AV*, 7.57 gm. Copenhagen.
- 2 (d) Similar. *Obv.*: branch as on preceding. *Rev.*: pellet as on 2 (b).
M. —. *AV*. 7.61 gm. B.M. (Lloyd 662). Pl. I.
- 2 (e) Similar.
M. —. *AV*, 1.90, quarter-shekel. Berlin Coll. Pl. I.
The gold issues have been placed here though the striking obverse type, and the prancing horse, might rather suggest the following series. But against the similarity of reverse type is the difference of style and the use of the pellet as a difference mark (as on no. 2(i)), while the head resembles that on the larger group of silver and bronze (2(g-i, k-l, p)).

Silver

- 2 (f) *Obv.* Head of Tanit-Persephone l., wearing wreath of corn-ears; single-pendant ear-ring and necklace.
Rev. Horse standing r.; behind in background, palm-tree with two bunches of fruit; exergual line.
M. —. *AR*, 7.40 gm. Shekel. Madrid (Zobel, *Mem. Num. Español.* 157, i. 2). Pl. I.
- 2 (g) *Obv.* Similar; different style with elongated neck.
Rev. Horse standing r., with head turned back; behind, on l. side, palm-tree as before; exergual line; dotted circle.
M. ii. 89. 109. *AR*, 7.21 gm. Shekel. B.M. (from Spain). Pl. I.
- 2 (h) Similar. *Rev.*: without palm-tree.
M. —. *AR*, 3.39 gm. Half-shekel. Berlin Coll.
- 2 (i) Similar. *Rev.*: without palm-tree; beneath belly, pellet.
M. *ibid.* 110. *AR*, 3.60 gm. Half-shekel. B.M. (two examples from Mogente hoard; Müller quotes two examples from Lisbon). Pl. I.

Bronze

- 2 (j) *Obv.* Head of Tanit-Persephone (style of no. 2(f)); dotted circle.
Rev. Horse's head in profile r.; beneath chin, Punic letter *beth*.
M. —? *Æ*, 7.87 gm. B.M. Pl. I.

- 2 (k) Similar. *Obv.*: style of 2(g-i). *Rev.*: no letter.
M. —? Æ, 9.62 gm. B.M. Pl. I.
- 2 (l) Similar. *Rev.*: *beth* (or perhaps *daleth*).
M. ii. 101. 266? Æ, 8.61 gm. B.M. Pl. I.
- 2 (m) Similar. *Rev.*: *yod*.
M. *ibid.*, 267? Æ, 6.10 gm. B.M. Pl. I.
- 2 (n) Similar, crude style. *Rev.*: no letter.
M. ii. 103. 309? Æ, 10.88 gm. B.M. Pl. I.
- 2 (o) Similar, crude style. *Rev.*: letter *aleph* reversed.
M. *ibid.*, 310. Æ, 8.67 gm. B.M. Pl. I.
- 2 (p) Similar (style of no. 2(k-l)). *Rev.*: Crested Corinthian helmet l., with neck and cheek-pieces; dotted circle.
M. —. Æ, 1.76 gm. Gotha. Pl. I.
- 2 (q) Similar (crude style of no. 2(n-o)). *Rev.*: linear circle.
M. —. Æ, 1.69 gm. B.M. (from Malaga). Pl. I.
There are two distinct styles in the silver and bronze. Nos. 2(f) and (j), which go together, stand apart from the rest, which all show the same style though the execution varies from very good to almost barbarous. This variation occurs in some of the other bronze issues (e.g. nos. 3(b, c), 5(d)), and sometimes, as here, so strongly as to suggest local Iberian imitations.

SERIES 3. *The White Cape or New Carthage?*

Silver

- 3 (a) *Obv.* Head of Tanit-Persephone l., with up-thrown eye, wearing wreath of corn-ears and triple-pendant ear-ring; dotted circle.
- Rev.* Horse prancing r.; above, eight-pointed star; ground-line; dotted circle.
M. ii. 91. 126. Æ, 7.37 gm. Shekel. B.M. (from Cadiz).
Pl. II.; 7.37 gm. Shekel. B.M. Pl. II*.

Bronze

- 3 (b) Similar, but rough style.
M. —. Æ, 6.28 gm. B.M. Pl. II.
- 3 (c) Similar, neat style. *Rev.*: type l. without star.
M. ii. 100. 257. Æ, 7.80 gm. Copenhagen.

There is no evidence from provenance to help the attribution of nos. 3(b-c), but the prancing horse does not otherwise occur on Carthaginian bronze, and prancing horse with star only on no. 3(a).

SERIES 4. *New Carthage*

Gold

- 4 (a) *Obv.* Male bust l., beardless, diademed, with up-thrown eye, but pronounced African features; prominent frontal base and tightly curling hair (Hasdrubal?); dotted circle.
Rev. Prow of war-galley r., with triple ram and wreathed forepost ending in a bird's head (*χηνισκός*), to which a pennant is attached; on the deck, a pile of shields; dotted circle.
 M. —. *AV*, 7.58 gm.¹ Shekel. Leningrad. Pl. II.

Silver

- 4 (b) Similar but *obv.* of finer style; hair in freer curls. *Rev.*: beneath, sea-horse.
 M. *Suppl.* 71, 4a. *AR*, 14.80 gm. Double shekel. Madrid: found in Iviça. Pl. II; Istituto de Valencia de Don Juan. Double shekel. Pl. II*.
 4 (c) Similar, of fine style. *Rev.*: beneath, dolphin.
 M. *ibid.*, 4b. *AR*, 7.10 gm. Shekel. B.M. (from Malaga). Pl. II. There also exist plated examples of the shekel in poor style. (B.M., from Spain.)

Bronze

- 4 (d) *Obv.* Male head r., with slight whisker, wearing crested Corinthian helmet, the bowl decorated with a minute griffin running r.; dotted circle.
Rev. Palm-tree with two bunches of fruit.
 M. ii. 145. 3. *Æ*, 4.37 gm. B.M. Pl. II.

SERIES 5. *New Carthage*

Silver

- 5 (a) *Obv.* Head of Eshmun-Apollo? l., wearing laureate diadem; dotted border.
Rev. Horse standing r., ground line.
 M. —. *AR*, exact weight unrecorded. Triple shekel. Private Spanish coll Pl. II.

¹ It has not been possible to ascertain the quality of the gold.

- 5 (b) *Obv.* Similar.
M. Suppl. 61, 12a. \mathcal{R} , 7.31 gm. Shekel. Madrid (Mazarron hoard). Pl. II.
- 5 (c) *Obv.* Head of Melkart-Herakles r. beared, in lionskin.
Rev. Similar.
M. —. \mathcal{R} , 3.80 gm. Half-shekel. Ashmolean Museum. Pl. II.
- This coin, which, so far as I know, is unique, has no provenance, and the attribution, which rests on weight and types (particularly the reverse), can hardly be regarded as certain. The combination of style and types, however, and the absence of legend make it probable.

Bronze.

- 5 (d) *Obv.* Head of Tanit-Persephone r., with corn-wreath.
Rev. Palm-tree with fruits.
M. —. \mathcal{A} , Yriarte Coll. (*Numario Hispánico*, ii (1953), p. 9, pl. 5.)
- Thick specimens of very coarse style (local Iberian imitations?, e.g. Vives, *La Moneda Hispánica*, pl. viii. 9) are constantly found in the necropolis of the Punic period at Villaricos, excavated by Don Luis Siret.

SERIES 6. *New Carthage*

Silver

- 6 (a) *Obv.* Bust of Melkart-Herakles l., bearded and laureate, with heavy knotted club at shoulder; the features of pronounced African type, with prominent frontal bone and tightly curling hair and beard (Hamilcar Barca?); dotted circle.
Rev. Elephant going r., with cloaked rider holding goad in outstretched r. hand; uneven exergual line; dotted circle.
M. iii. 17. 16. \mathcal{R} , 14.74 gm. Double shekel. B.M. (Mogente hoard). Pl. II.
- 6 (b) *Obv.* Similar but beardless and with different features (Hannibal?).
Rev. Elephant going r.
M. Suppl. 61, 17a. \mathcal{R} , 22.23 gm. Triple shekel. Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan (Mazarron hoard). Pl. II.
- 6 (c) Similar.
M. iii. 17. 17. \mathcal{R} , 11.16 gm. Triple half-shekel. B.M. (Mogente hoard). Pl. II.

- 6 (d) Similar.
M. *ibid.*, 18. *AR*, 1.78 gm. Quarter-shekel. B.M. (Mogente hoard). Pl. II.

SERIES 7. *New Carthage*

Silver

- 7 (a) *Obv.* Beardless head l., bare; the features have a general resemblance to the preceding series; dotted circle.
Rev. Horse standing r.; above, radiate disk flanked by uraei; beneath, pellet; exergual line; dotted circle.
M. iii. 17. 12. *AR*, 7.20 gm. Shekel. Paris. Pl. II.
This shekel is certainly Barcid for it occurs, for example, in the Cheste hoard. The shape of the head is close to that attributed to Hannibal in series 6 and in later pieces of the present series. It perhaps comes at the transition from one series to the other.
- 7 (b) *Obv.* The same beardless bust as on series 6, but bareheaded and without club (Hannibal?); dotted circle.
Rev. Horse standing r., behind, in middle background, palm-tree with two fruits; dotted circle.
M. Suppl. 61, 8a. *AR*, 23.40 gm. Triple shekel. Madrid (Mazarron hoard). Pl. III; another in B.M. from Spain.
- 7 (c) Similar.
M. iii. 16. 8. *AR*, 7.37 gm. Shekel. B.M. (from Spain). Pl. III.
- 7 (d) Similar. *Rev.*: beneath belly, pellet.
M. *ibid.*, 9. *AR*, 7.06 gm. Shekel. B.M. Pl. III.
- 7 (e) Similar. *Obv.*: beneath chin, pellet. *Rev.*: beneath belly, Punic letter *ayin*.
M. *ibid.* 11 and Suppl. 61, 9a. *AR*, 6.77 gm. Shekel. B.M. (from Spain). Pl. III.
- 7 (f) Similar. *Rev.*: beneath belly, Punic letter *zayin*; linear circle.
M. iii. 16. 10. *AR*, 6.79 and 6.03 gm. Shekel. B.M. (1) from Spain; (2) from Mogente hoard. Pl. III.
- 7 (g) Similar but *obv.*, head with different features approximating to 7(h) ff. though still with short curly hair. *Rev.*: no difference mark.
M. —. *AR*, 6.73 gm. Shekel. B.M. Pl. III.

- 7 (h) *Obv.* Bare head l., beardless, with short, straight hair and Roman nose (Scipio?); dotted circle.
Rev. Similar; on r., Punic letter *yod*; dotted circle.
 M. iii. 13. 2-3. \bar{A} R, 7.17 gm. Shekel. B.M. (from Spain).
 Pl. III. 6.45 gm. Shekel. Vienna. Pl. III*.
- 7 (i) Similar but *obv.* of crude style. *Rev.*: no difference mark.
 M. ibid. 1. \bar{A} R, 6.91 gm. Shekel. B.M. Pl. III.; 7.18 gm. Shekel. B.M. Pl. III*.
- 7 (j) *Obv.* Head as on nos. 7(b-d).
Rev. Horse r.
 M. iii. 17. 13. \bar{A} R, 3.62 gm. Half-shekel. B.M. (Mogente hoard). Pl. III.
- 7 (k) Similar. *Rev.*: beneath belly, pellet.
 M. ibid. 14. \bar{A} R, 3.53 gm. Half-shekel. B.M. Pl. III.
- 7 (l) *Obv.* Head approximating to 'Roman' style of 7(h).
Rev. Similar; on r., Punic letter *yod*.
 M. —. \bar{A} R, 3.47 gm. Half-shekel. Berlin. Pl. III.
- 7 (m) *Obv.* Head of crude style as on 7(i).
Rev. Similar, no difference mark.
 M. Suppl. 61, 1b. \bar{A} R, 3.60. Half-shekel. Madrid (Mazarron hoard).
- 7 (n) *Obv.* Head as on nos. 7(b-d, j-k).
Rev. No difference mark.
 M. —. \bar{A} R, 1.79 gm. Quarter-shekel. B.M. (from Spain).
 Pl. III.
- 7 (o) Similar. *Rev.*: beneath belly, pellet.
 M. iii. 17. 15. \bar{A} R, 1.80 gm. Quarter-shekel. Berlin Coll.

Bronze

- 7 (p) *Obv.* Head of crude style as on 7(i and m).
Rev. Horse and palm-tree as before.
 M. iii. 13. 4. \bar{A} E, 9.66 gm. B.M. Pl. III.

SERIES 8. Gades?

Silver

- 8 (a) *Obv.* Head of Melkart l. wearing laureate diadem with freely curling hair and long whisker, pronounced African features and prominent frontal bone; dotted circle.

Rev. Elephant walking r.; exergual line; beneath, Punic letter *aleph*; linear circle.

M. iii. 34. 43. \mathcal{R} , 6.97 gm. Shekel. B.M. Pl. III.

8 (b) Similar.

M. *ibid.* 44. \mathcal{R} , 3.58 gm. Half-shekel. B.M. Pl. III.

8 (c) Similar.

M. —. \mathcal{R} , 1.56 gm. Quarter-shekel. Hunter (Macdonald, *Cat.* iii, p. 609, 'Jugurtha' no. 1). Pl. III.

None of these pieces is of recorded Spanish provenance. The reasons for regarding them as Barcid will be found on p. 43.

Bronze

8 (d) *Obv.* Similar head, but without diadem, or such free curls.

Rev. Horse's head r.

M. iii. 13. 5. \mathcal{A} , 2.13 gm. B.M. Pl. III.

The head of this little bronze piece is not quite the same as that on the silver, but it resembles it in general shape and setting, while both reverse type and denomination have otherwise been found at Gades alone. The head has, however, something in common with the 'Roman' head, no. 7(p), and the coin may possibly belong to that series.

IV

SPECIAL COINAGES UNDER THE TRIUMVIRI MONETALES

By KARL PINK

THE great revolution in the arrangement of the Roman Republican coinages which began with Bahrfeldt-Samwer in 1883 is still far from complete, and much research is still needed. The most powerful impulse towards its completion was given by Mattingly in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1929, and later in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1938, with Robinson. Since then the matter has not been allowed to rest. New suggestions were offered from various sides, and in particular the revision of Grueber's *BMCRR* became increasingly necessary. Consequently Sydenham had decided to undertake the task, and his work appeared posthumously in 1952. I myself became involved in these exertions as an outsider. It had long been clear to me that the numismatic material offers a vast amount of evidence on the ancient world, far more than had been thought. Only it is necessary to test and sift carefully the evidence of the coins. Hence came my idea of the 'Structure'. I had also already divined that much information on the mint officials of the Republic, the *triumviri monetales*, about whom we know so little, could be extracted from the coins, and I have now clearly demonstrated this in my article in the American Numismatic Society's *Numismatic Studies*, no. 7, 1952 ('The Triumviri Monetales and the Structure of the Coinage of the Roman Republic', cited here simply as 'Pink'). The chief aim of my article was to exhibit the constitutional position of the *triumviri monetales* and their activity, the new arrangement of the coinages occupying a secondary place as a necessary postulate. Unfortunately this has often been overlooked by the reviewers who have confined themselves to criticizing the new arrangement of the coinages, in particular by the reviewer in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, who went so far as to say: 'The book

must stand or fall from the numismatic point of view', after evading the main argument with the remark: 'This is of more interest to the historian than to the numismatist.' And although I write expressly on p. 15 '... this order is in no way final. The finds must be approached systematically as well as the other criteria. . .' it was precisely here that he raised objections. The only reviewer who has really worked thoroughly through the article and properly understood it is Sutherland in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1953. Since then two reviews of my article have appeared, one by Mattingly in the *Classical Review*, 1954, p. 65, and a detailed and stimulating treatment by Alföldi in *Gnomon*, 1954, pp. 381 ff. The list of misprints, by no means all of which were noted by Sutherland, could have been further added to. The first translation was made by Mattingly, who undertook this laborious task with his usual friendly willingness. Let me express my thanks to him here, as my acknowledgement, in spite of my request, was not mentioned in the American publication. The compressed style and the numerous abbreviations offered great difficulties to a translator and Sutherland has quite rightly stressed this. But the Americans were not content with Mattingly's translation and made a new one. This resulted in many mistakes and frequent clumsy turns of expression. But Sutherland is right in objecting to the awkward abbreviations for Grueber (which should have been *BMCRR*) and Mattingly-Sydenham (which should have been *RIC*). Turning from this personal explanation I want to show in the following pages how much can be learned from my new arrangement about the organization of the emissions.

The regular emission of coin had always fallen within the competence of the quaestor, to whom the community had handed over all rights in this connexion; for the conduct of the financial administration was deliberately kept apart from the highest office in the state. Thus the quaestor had his fixed budget for the issue of coin, and he alone was responsible for its administration, although he held no *imperium*, at all events during the Republic, but only a *potestas*. Later, towards the end of the Republic, exceptions occur—the quaestor *pro pr.* and once, on a coin of Silanus of 34 B.C., even a quaestor *pro cos.* If a certain denomination had become exhausted, and this happened most often with the denarius, the quaestor could on his own

authority institute a supplementary coinage. Of this, examples enough are given in my new arrangement. I have also demonstrated this for the period of the Empire several times in the third century. Where a more serious state of emergency had arisen, through war, revolution, or corn scarcity, where in fact a *penuria argenti* existed, then the people in the *comitia tributa* had to give a new mandate, a *lex*. But as this was too much trouble in individual cases, the simple solution was sought in a *senatusconsultum*, expressed in the formula SC. As the crises became more frequent, a law was enacted, in our case the *lex Papiria*, which in contrast to the SC had permanent force and released the *argentum publicum*. For this the formula A PV or the like is used. Both formulae appear fairly frequently on coins, often in combination with the titles of officials. So we get the following scheme. The datings are approximate.

1. 119-104 Q with EX SC.
2. 104-89 Q (VR) alone, without SC.
3. 89-80 P, A P, A PV, &c., under the influence of the *lex Papiria*. Towards the end of this period we find special officials like aediles or the praetor; occasionally SC again.
4. 80-70 Special triumvirates with SC.
5. 70-50 The curule aediles.
6. 49-41 All the earlier formulae.

The first special coinages are those the necessity for which was established by a *senatusconsultum*. SC occurs fairly often on coins, at first naturally on denarii, in the second period also on quinarii, in the third on denarii, sestertii, and bronze, in the fourth and fifth only on denarii, in the sixth on aurei and denarii. The last coinages of the *triumviri* under Augustus already have the SC as permanent reverse type, a contradiction, as a *senatusconsultum* can only last one year. It was in fact a fossilized formula, which no longer had any real meaning (Pink, p. 46). Moreover, Sutherland has pointed out that on the *aes* of the *triumviri monetales* under Augustus next to the SC as chief reverse the *tribunica potestas* is also named, at least in the case of the dupondius and *as*. Now this combination of SC with the *tribunica potestas* is no accident. For it was just the *senatusconsulta* which were important for the tribunes, as they had a free hand with them owing to their right of intercession. But Augustus set great store by his permanent

tribunicia potestas as the root of his *auctoritas*. So the SC had its special significance and remained on the *aes* throughout the principate.¹ Admittedly there are many irregularities here; e.g. Nero has SC on gold and silver, on the other hand it is missing on medallions and on many *aes* coins. Here a thorough investigation is required. Occasionally in the third century SC means a mint, for example Serdica under Tacitus or Cyzicus under Diocletian. Sometimes the SC refers to the content of the coin, as with Rustius (Pink, no. 94) and often in the coinages of Augustus.

A *senatusconsultum* is really a guarantee or senatorial recommendation of the official who has made the application; consequently its validity is limited to the term of office of the official, that is, to one year. In the last century of the Republic the power of the Senate is admittedly so great that its decrees 'were in practice observed as authoritative'.² That is the meaning of the formula SPQR, which appears from Sulla onwards. *Senatusconsulta* were passed for all jurisdictions which came under the Senate, so also in particular for financial requirements, to which the emission of coinage belonged. Once only is the purpose of an issue named on coins: AD FRV EMV under Piso-Caepio (Pink, p. 71). Often a SC was considered enough, where a law was expected (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii, p. 651). This holds good in the case of rapid decisions, so also in that of our special coinages.

We find this formula for the first time—the earliest *senatusconsultum* of all known to us so far is from the year 189 B.C.—on the denarii of L. Torquatus (Pink on no. 31), which I have dated c. 119 B.C. This is the time of the end of the Gracchan disturbances and the first *senatusconsultum ultimum* ('Videant consules'). The circumstances of the time make such an emergency order appear comprehensible. The formula runs: Q EX SC. So the right of issuing a special coinage was explicitly conceded to the quaestor. It is clear why it was the quaestor; he was after all the highest financial official. It is equally clear why his office was specified precisely; for up to this time the *cognomen* alone had always indicated the *triumvir monetalis*. On Republican coins Q always means quaestor (Pink, p. 21, n. 13). In

¹ CRIP pp. 42 ff. Cf. on this Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i, p. 286; ii, p. 294; RE, Suppl. vi, col. 682.

² RE, Suppl. vi, col. 720.

Groups 1 and 2 we find only the quaestor, soon without SC expressed; twice \mathcal{R} is added. Cetegus and Rustius (Pink, no. 45) we shall have to assign to a later date. Of the former nothing can be said since we have only a single example, a *passer solitarius in tecto*. Rustius does not appear in the finds till later. After an interruption we again meet SC in numerous examples in Groups 4 and 5.

Let us now examine the *argentum publicum* in Group 3. As the times grew stormier the emergency measures too, in our case the special coinages, became more frequent. While only two special coinages occur in Group 1, we find six as early as the second group. This increase led, among other financial innovations, to the passing of a law, the so-called *lex Papiria*.¹ We do not know exactly when this law was made; but the circumstance that the new semiuncial unit which Pliny discusses, and which now appears in the *aes*, is with its denarii closely connected with the preceding coinages, entitles us to fix the date at 89 B.C., all the more so as a certain C. Papirius Carbo was *tribunus plebis* at the time and instituted the citizenship law together with his colleague Plautius. The formulae E L P on the sestertii, now minted once more, and L P D A P on the bronze coinage can only be read as *e lege Papiria* and *lex Papiria de argento publico*. As shown in detail in Pink, pp. 32 and 58, the law had contained at least four innovations as regards the minting of coin: (1) the semiuncial unit, (2) the resumed issue of sestertii; (3) the use of the *argentum publicum*; (4) special *collegia* of three moneyers for each supplementary coinage. For us the most important decision is that concerning the *argentum publicum*. By this term we understand the metal or money in the possession of the state as opposed to the *argentum privatum*, where *argentum* is used in the general sense (cf. Pink, p. 57, n. 25). The *argentum publicum* was of course kept in the *aerarium populi Romani* or, for the reserves, in the *aerarium sanctius*. Now, as I have shown (Pink, p. 56), the procuring of the metals and the manufacture of the blanks was normally farmed out to a private company. But where in an emergency the metal could not be procured at once the quaestor was directed by a *senatus-consultum* to issue the required amount from the reserve treasure. For the occasion we are discussing the Marsian war was responsible. The allies had blocked the routes of access, making it impossible to

¹ Pliny, *NH* xxxiii. 13, 36.

bring in the metal, so the *argentum publicum* had to be drawn upon. Now it is conceivable that in the first instance as an urgent measure a *senatusconsultum* was passed. But together with the other above-mentioned new measures a law was enacted, this very *lex Papiria*. The formulae for *argentum publicum* run as follows: ARG PVB, EX A PV, A PV, PV, P A, P. Beside this we find also P EX SC from the first for Lentulus (Pink, no. 57A), and EX SC for the anonymous series (Pink, no. 60A) on the *as* (here for the first time on *aes*), so that presumably a *senatusconsultum* did precede the law. None of these formulae mention the official permitted to mint a special coinage from the *argentum publicum*. The *lex Papiria* may have entrusted this to the quaestor, as before, or simply to a moneyer, as we see clearly in Group 4. Towards the end of this group clear signs of disturbed conditions are again apparent. First we find Balbus minting exceptionally as praetor with PR and SC in 83 B.C.; I have already discussed this unusual case (Pink, note 44). Curiously enough his coinage is dated 81 in Sydenham, although the year of his death is given correctly in the note there as 82. Then follow two plebeian aediles, the only plebeian aediles on Republican coins, M. Fannius and L. Critonius (Pink, no. 62B). Memmius (Pink, *ibid.*) has a simple SC, so must have been a *triumvir*. C. Cassius and L. Salinus have the otherwise unexampled formula D S S, i.e. *de senatus sententia*, with the same meaning as SC.¹ At the end a curule aedile is named for the first time, P. Furius Crassipes (Pink, no. 62B); later we find them oftener.

With regard to special triumvirates with SC, I have conjectured above that complete triumvirates for the issue of special coinages had been provided for in the *lex Papiria*. They appear clearly in Group 4. They carry a simple SC, so that here it is evident that the moneyers were commissioned to issue special coinages. Towards the end of this group disorder appears again. The five emissions of M. Volteius are a curious set, which as a group are regarded as special coinages, although the uncommon formula SC D T appears on one series only. Mommsen² explains it as SC *de thesauro*. I have expressed my doubts of this solution (Pink, p. 36, n. 47). As final emissions we encounter the series of Plaetorius and Lentulus (Pink, no. 68), which name the quaestors, once more, Q SC.

¹ Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii, pp. 995 ff.

² *Römisches Münzwesen*, p. 620, n. 451.

The curule aedile has already been met with once above, associated with his plebeian colleagues. The jurisdiction of both groups was the same.¹ In Group 5 they alternate symmetrically with the moneyers, six special coinages by the aediles and six by the moneyers. As the aediles also had the *cura annonae*, the supervision of market traffic and of weights and measures was assigned to them. So it is easy to see how they were in exceptional circumstances concerned with the minting of coin.

The ever-growing financial crisis and the frequent corn scarcity in Rome in consequence of the devastating civil wars towards the end of the Republic continually demanded new emergency enactments and *leges frumentariae*, as may be inferred in particular from Sulla's measures, and these led to Pompey's nomination as *dictator annonae*. These measures affected in the first place the province of the aediles, which expanded more and more, with the result that Caesar appointed additional *aediles Cerialis*, who then became a permanent institution. It is easy to understand why it was just at this difficult time that the aediles were also brought in to superintend the issue of special coinages. We meet two aediles right at the beginning of Group 5, about 70 or 69 B.C. (Pink, p. 39), then in the years 58 and 54 again two on each occasion, all invariably with AED CVR and SC. The six moneyers also have SC.

Group 6 can be regarded in a sense as a *conspectus formularum*, a picture of extreme confusion and, equally, of the transition to new times. In the year 49 B.C. we again meet Q VRB (Pink, p. 42). Cordius, a moneyer who mints regular coinage in 46 B.C., marks his special coinage in the same year with SC. In this year also falls the special coinage of Hirtius in gold; he mints as PR, i.e. *praefectus urbi*. The same title is borne in the following year by Plancus. I have mentioned (Pink, p. 40) that Caesar as dictator raised the number of urban prefects to eight and designated two of them for the *aerarium* instead of the quaestors. In this year a moneyer who mints regularly, Carisius, has a special emission with SC. In the year 44 we again have two urban prefects, this time with SC added. In the following year a special triumvirate issues gold with the almost forgotten formula A P F. It seems that the *triumviri r.p.c.* resorted to

¹ Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii, pp. 487, 499 ff.

this old expedient. A complete innovation occurs in the year 41, with only two *quattuorviri*, who at first coin regularly, but afterwards issue additional gold and silver on which they certify their position as Q DESIG SC.

This brings to an end the special coinages under the moneyers. For the last series under Augustus from 20 to 7 B.C. are no longer to be regarded as Republican, notwithstanding the explicit signatures. Clear proof is provided by the stereotyped SC as reverse type, which I have mentioned above, and by the portrait of the emperor on the *asses*. If we still read on coins of Rustius SC or EX SC, it has long been recognized that this formula signifies the honorific decrees for Augustus.

We have in these special coinages an historical and chronological development in which all phases and disturbances of the financial administration are reflected. When, during the troubles of the Gracchan period, a perceptible scarcity of denarii appeared for the first time it was naturally the competent financial official, that is the quaestor, who was given a special mandate by means of a *senatusconsultum*: hence Q EX SC.

These occasions were multiplied in the stormy times that followed, the birth-pangs (as it were) of the principate; so the business was simplified by a law, the *lex Papiria*, which settled the taking of metal from the *argentum publicum* and assigned the issue of special coinages in the beginning perhaps still to the quaestor, but after a short while at all events to a moneyer, as can be clearly seen in the following group; for it is simply special *collegia* of the moneyers which are employed on this task. Once again difficult times called for expedients, the responsibility for which was assigned sometimes to the masters of the mint, sometimes, particularly now, to the aediles, whose duties were thereby extended, with the result that their number was raised to six. The fully-developed crisis before the birth of the infant, the empire, brings almost all the previous measures before us as it were in review. They disappear with the new authorities, the *triumviri r.p.c.* It is true that after Augustus had already become *de facto* emperor, one seemingly Republican coinage is still instituted, very typical of the conception of the Princeps, but it is in essentials already the first Imperial coinage of Rome.

THE MAIN ASPECTS OF POLITICAL PROPAGANDA ON THE COINAGE OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC¹

By ANDREW ALFÖLDI

THE rabidly self-assertive trend in political competition among the Roman nobles had already provoked from remote times the deliberate exhibition of individual merit as a justification in electoral or other political processes. Such exhibition, to our eyes, has the air of shameless boasting, but seen in the light of Roman ideas it may sometimes reflect a true grandeur and a mighty conception. The visual proof of one's own efficiency through the means of art, the vocal persuasion of the general public, the tendentious presentation of publicity through pamphlets, all these have a quite modern touch. This propagandist activity permeated the coin-types in the first century B.C. intensively. But the ability of the Romans to reflect political and social ideas in the tiny and highly simplified representations of the coins had manifested itself from the very beginning.²

This was due to the highly visual and dramatic character of Roman thought. A short reminder of the great role of allegory in the official acts in Rome must suffice. After a feud between the patricians and the *plebs* a sanctuary for Concordia was vowed; on the occasion of trials and achievements of a different kind Honos, Virtus, and other abstract personifications of an appropriate kind were honoured. The place where the senate held its meetings was chosen in a similar way: legations of foreign peoples without a treaty with Rome were admitted in the Temple of Bellona, where the reward of a triumph to

¹ An asterisk in the text means that the special point will be discussed elsewhere. Numbers in brackets refer, unless otherwise specified, to the plates of *BMCRR*.

² An introduction to the problems of propaganda by means of art may be found in H. Jucker, *Vom Verhältnis der Römer zum bildenden Kunst der Griechen*, Zurich, 1950.

victorious generals was also discussed; after the restoration of internal peace the *patres* congregated in the *aedes Concordiae*. The treaties with foreign peoples were deposited in the temple of Fides. Cybele, fetched from Pessinus to bring the victory to the Romans against Hannibal, was first harboured in the temple of Victory. Clodius consecrated the *atrium Libertatis* on the site of the destroyed house of his enemy. The personification of abstract ideas is, of course, not a Roman invention. The Greeks, however, employed such symbolic conceptions and figures as the quintessence of sublime ideas, raising them to the majestic height of heaven above the level of everyday life. For the Romans, the allegorical figures of this kind served above all to illustrate political aims and catchwords amidst the struggle for self-assertion in the *forum* and the *curia*. It is not the result of special ability in Cicero if he dramatizes events and situations as allegorical compositions of painting and sculpture: he simply makes splendid use of the visionary imagination of his audience, prepared for and accustomed to this sort of fiction. The authority of the senate *orders* him to return from exile; the Roman people *calls* him back; the state *implores* him to come again; Roma herself *welcomes* him, joining him before the gates, and *embraces* him on his arrival; the whole of Italy has *brought him back on her shoulders*. The imagery employed is, for the Roman, no pale means of expression, but the dramatic actualization of a visual way of thinking. Not only elaborate artistic compositions, but also isolated figures and simplified symbols sufficed to invoke the illusion of tense actions. A good many of our coin-types are fragments of this procedure—miniature fragments, indeed, but authentic and immediate witnesses of the ideology and the trends of Roman politics, born in the very centre of the political life of the Republic.

I

The hundreds of Republican coin-types, well defined and often exactly dated, would in any case be of high value for the knowledge of political propaganda, if only as a means of filling the lacunae left in the other sources. But, over and above this, the uninterrupted series of heads and pictorial reliefs on the coins gives us a unique opportunity of following up the transformation of the conception of state and the actual relationship of this conception to the clans and

factions of the aristocracy, as well as to the leading figures of every epoch, against the background of continuous change in the last three centuries of the Republic. If this great possibility has been hitherto not fully exploited, this omission is due only to the erroneous chronology originally attached to the initial phase of this coinage. This obstacle was removed by the magnificent discovery of H. Mattingly and E. S. G. Robinson in 1932 concerning the date of the Roman denarius and other landmarks of the early coinage, followed up by a series of important studies of Harold Mattingly up to the present day. His results have been confirmed in a decisive manner by C. A. Hersh (NC 1953, pp. 33 ff.), and all further discussion on this topic becomes superfluous.

The historical transformation of the structure of the Roman state, as reflected by the unceasing change of the character of the coin-types, has, roughly, three stages, which approximately correspond to the three centuries of the later Roman Republic.

In the third century B.C. the coin-pictures announce aims and ideas concerning all the Romans and their state; above all they speak to the Greeks of Magna Graecia and they use for that purpose allegorical conceptions drawn partly from the Greeks themselves. In the second century the aspirations of the ruling class begin to overshadow the manifestations of the state and to supplant them by the continually growing references to their own clans. The badges of the princely families and the names of their descendants appear first in a modestly abbreviated manner, then in a fuller form, successively pushing the representation of the *res publica* and the name of *Roma* itself more and more into the background. At the beginning of the first century the symbols of the state to a great extent disappear. The era of the great oligarchies gives place to that of the powerful individuals who occupy first the reverse and then the obverse of the coins, gaining ground continually until the final success about the middle of the first century. The monotonous inventory of the early denarii had continually mirrored the discipline of the conservative nobility. The initially unspectacular growth of special types, which ended in a complete break-through of individualism and in new creations every year, illustrates the disruption of all the ties of the republican state. The early types addressed the outer world, the denarii are turned homewards;

yet they had at first no regard to the aspirations and the mentality of the common people. But the political revolution enforced this attitude upon the *monetales*; at the very end this *captatio benevolentiae* had been extended to the soldiers and veterans too.

In the first phase of the Roman coinage the actuality of day-to-day politics is missing: timeless values and conceptions are predominant. In the second century the imprint of contemporaneous events is still lacking, but the past intrudes—the past of the big families, with the purpose of presenting their offspring in the brilliant light of the great achievements of their forerunners. Finally, in the first century B.C. famous ancestors yield their place one after another to their living descendants; with the latter the reality of contemporary events breaks in. The hieratic uniformity of the first phase, much longer preserved on the bronze denominations than on the silver, characterizes the firmly coherent structure of the state, which was still able to subordinate all its members to the whole. The second period is characterized by the infiltration of the badges and monograms of the governing *gentes*, which after a long struggle replace the signs and symbols of the sovereignty of the state. From Sulla onwards there appear sometimes also the names of generals with extended powers, besides that of the young overseer of the *moneta*, and, from the last years of Caesar onwards, the names of the sons of Pompeius, of Caesar, of Brutus and Cassius, of Antonius and Octavian show us how the highest executive power usurps the organs of the administration in the progression towards monarchy.

The changed conceptions of the second century were not able to remove the head of Roma from the obverses of the denarii. But the reverses abandon the gods of the state, replacing them first with the heavenly patrons of the governing clans and later with scenes illustrating their pride and glory. With the first century, however, the head of Roma disappears suddenly from the obverses, to cede her place to the tutelary deities of the aristocracy and other abstract personifications, until famous ancestors and, after Pharsalos, living leaders in turn replace the Olympians. In the same period the reverses follow the same line of development towards the glorification of the party leader. The manifestation of the will to power by individual statesmen and generals must not be isolated from the manifestation of the

same will by the conservative politicians. The collective aspiration to power was not less unrepblican than the individual one. This fundamental transformation will be exemplified by some selected cases in the brief sketch which follows.

II

At the moment when the first silver coinage of Rome was put into circulation, the Romans had fixed their eyes on Sicily and were preparing the great struggle with the Carthaginians for the possession of that rich isle. These facts determined the general outlook of the first emissions. Greek artists cut the dies; their dies represented gods who likewise were Greek, such as Heracles (Pl. 74, no. 9), Mars (Pl. 74, no. 1), and Apollo (Pl. 74, nos. 7-8); Nike appears (Pl. 74, nos. 10-11) with the Greek agonistic symbols of the wreath, palm branch, and the ribbon of the victorious athlete. Two generations later the early annalists of Rome still wrote in Greek and for the Greeks: from 268 onward the same phenomenon prevailed on the coins. To show that they belong to the same sphere of culture as the Greeks, the Romans put on these coins the lovely head of Ilia, i.e. of the Trojan ancestress of their race. For the young woman with the Asiatic helmet is not the personification of Roma—this did not yet exist in Rome itself—and she is not Bellona, the ancient warlike goddess, because she was only later identified with the oriental war-goddess Māh. And the Trojan descent is not a later Greek fiction, but the heritage of the Etruscans, who posed in their struggle for the hegemony of southern Italy as the Trojan antagonists of the Greeks of Homer.* Consequently we find the head of Ilia also on the heavy libral *asses* intended for the commerce of Middle Italy.

In spite of this Greek *mise en scène*, these silver coins were inscribed in Roman letters. Moreover, the pictorial types forcibly emphasize the national character: the she-wolf with the twins is no Greek literary fiction, but an old and original Roman tradition* (Pl. 74, no. 9). Even if the horse-head (Pl. 74, nos. 1, 3-6) may have been imitated from the Carthaginian coins, it had in any case its own significance in Rome and stood for the invincible cavalry of the Roman nobles.¹

During the first Punic war the series of types of the heavy cast

¹ Cf. A. Alföldi, *Der frühromische Reiteradel*, Baden-Baden, 1952.

bronze coins acquired its definite shape. All of them show the *prora*, a hint of the vital struggles of the Romans in those years towards sea power. With the prow are coupled the most venerable deities of the Roman state, in the order in which we find them in archaic formulae of prayers, beginning with Janus. Apart from Janus, these gods had the names of the Olympians, but they had not much in common with them. It has been shown of the Roman Jupiter¹ that he was totally divested of the all too human nature of the passionate Zeus; freed from the frivolous weaknesses imputed to him by the myth of the Greeks he became the abstract king of the young Roman community. The same juridical and political conception may have prevailed also in the case of the other deities on the bronze denominations: as majestic patrons of the *res publica* they evoked solemn feelings in spite of their rough execution and the complete lack of Greek beauty.

After the first victory over Carthage the silver coins—as well as the scanty gold emissions—show a double head with two young male faces, crowned with the laurel wreath (Pl. 74, nos. 21 ff.). Their prominent role shows that the two profiles must represent a conception of central importance. It is impossible, therefore, to think either of Fontus, an unimportant double (and son) of Janus, or of a two-fold Mercurius, for whom the laurel wreath has no significance; a *petasus*, a *caduceus*, or a wing would certainly have not been lacking if he had been meant. Nor could the two war-gods of Rome, Mars and Quirinus, be reproduced in an identical manner: they had their own peculiar iconography. No important deity can consequently be identified with the two faces of this head, but only Romulus and Remus. These two young heroes and founders of Rome are not late borrowings from the Greeks; their myth came from the common cultural roots of the Eurasian shepherd-peoples, a myth which can be traced from Middle Europe to the Far East. The annual festival of the Roman kings, the *Lupercalia*,* shows, even in the historical epoch, the two groups of the secret society which once accompanied the double kingship, in common sacred action; the double organization of the primitive Rome did not only survive in the two war-gods on Palatine and Quirinal, and not only in their respective priesthoods (as the two groups of the *Salii*), but shows traces of the transition from the

¹ C. Koch, *Der römische Jupiter*, Frankfurt, 1937.

bipartite warrior-state to the more settled conditions of the historical period. As Mommsen observed, an archive for treaties with foreign peoples existed not only close to the Capitol in the temple of Fides, but also near the *Capitolium vetus* on the Quirinal, where the temple of *Dius Fidius* (a male version of Fides) housed corresponding documents. The bipartition being so well established, we can seek the origin of the double magistracy in those remote antecedents, and also suppose that in the third century B.C. the threads which lead back to Romulus, and Remus (who faded away later), were still well known to everyone. The reverse accompanying the double head of the founders of the double organization of the pre-Etruscan Rome shows *Juppiter optimus maximus* in his war-chariot drawn by four white horses, the author of the *auspicia* of their rule.

A peculiar bronze series (Pl. 75, nos. 8-11 and 13)¹ produced during the war with Hannibal leads us still farther back in the Roman past, to the most archaic layer of Roman religious ideas. To explain away the difficulties of interpretation by taking the unfamiliar types in question as imitations of coin-types of other Italic communities is inadmissible. First of all, to do this would mean they were meaningless for the Romans. Secondly, the boar-skin as the headgear of a young hero or god, and the bull with the snake and corn-ear (Pl. 75, nos. 9 and 13), are not unknown in the oldest religious traditions of Rome. The standards of the Roman army before Marius—authentic witnesses of prehistoric beliefs—had on their top, besides the eagle (Juppiter), not only the wolf (Mars) and the horse (Neptunus), but also the boar and 'Minotaurus'. The latter is the well-known demon of fertility, the special Roman version of which, presumably *Liber pater*, can be no surprise for us;² for the boar, the only solution seems to me to be his identification with Quirinus. The bird of prey with a flower in its beak can hardly be isolated from the bird with a fruit, a very popular representation on Roman engraved gems; as this bird is coupled with the obverse of the she-wolf with the twins (Pl. 75, no. 10), it may be the helpful bird of that myth. The principal type of this series is a warlike Juno (Pl. 75, no. 8), some

¹ The overstrikes identified by C. A. Hersh, *NC* 1953, p. 38 (no. 3), p. 41 (nos. 20-21), and p. 43 (nos. 28-31) establish the fact that this series was struck just after the capture of Syracuse in 212 B.C.

² A recent archaic find in Rome with 'Minotaurus' is noticed in *AJA* 1954, p. 324.

variety of that mythical leader—like Hekate or Perchta—of the primitive secret society which was the nucleus of the first Roman army. (The warlike Juno Sospita, Queen of the Sabines, with her he-goat head-dress, attests the survival of these primitive conceptions in the historical epoch.) The centaur slain by Hercules on the reverse of the same coin may be Cacus. The sextans with Sol, Luna, and two of the fixed stars which completes this archaic set drew its inspiration from a quite different source. The astral constellation of the rebirth of the Golden Age, a promise of unstinted luck after the terrible sufferings of the dreadful war, cannot but give a further illustration of the well-known fact that superstition steadily gained ground as the intolerable pressure of war increased, and that the authorities employed a homoeopathic treatment to check the spiritual disease. So did the elder Scipio Africanus, who allowed the idol of the Great Mother-Goddess of Asia Minor to be fetched to Rome as an antidote to the underground mystics.* To cover the expenses of the splendid games, celebrated in her honour from 204 B.C. onwards, bronze coins were struck with the turreted bust of Magna Mater and the naked acrobatic young noble horseman with his whip in the right hand (Pl. 75, no. 12). This is the first time that, very exceptionally, a brief flash of contemporary comment intrudes into the solemn, timeless pattern of the third century B.C.

III

Greek beauty, reflected more or less fully in the first phase of the silver and gold coinage of Rome, is due not to the mere chance of these coins being struck in southern Italy, but to the conscious will of the new big power of the Mediterranean world to present herself as a cultural entity. The gods of primitive Rome, aliens to the Greeks, which appeared during the fatal war against Hannibal, seem to announce a different course. The new silver coinage, starting sometime after Zama, loses the fine Greek style, and the barren scheme of the helmeted female head as well as the careless pictures of the reverses illustrate the break with cultural aspirations in the Hellenistic manner. The reactionary spirit, the *severitas maiorum*, so well known through the activity of the elder Cato, is reflected in those unpleasant figures.

In the first half of the second century B.C. the *res publica* still keeps a hold on the coin-types. The legend still names ROMA alone on the first issues; and when unpretending small symbols or letters unobtrusively join themselves to the customary types, half hidden in a corner, no real change can yet be noticed. But these initials of officials and the badges of their clans soon begin to be written and illustrated in a more explicit and pretentious manner, till they supersede the habitual symbols and legends concerning the state, trumpeting forth instead the glory of their ancient lineage.

The inventory of types relating to the noble houses, which was established gradually in this way on the denarii from about the years of the Gracchi, was in itself anything but new. New only was the fact that these tools and manifestations of private family propaganda, once designed for political competition, invaded such official documents as the legal means of payment, and thus threw aside the idea and the symbols of the state. But this fact corresponds to the fatal evolution in which the Republic was dissolved.

The protectors and prototypes of the patrician cavalry, the Dioscuri, still revealed a tradition born in the devoted service of common interests. There seem to have been no other underlying associations when the heavenly twins were gradually replaced by divinities in their chariots, drawn for those of first importance by four, and for those of lesser significance by two horses—a very Roman feature indeed.¹ But the divine charioteers multiply; and the more that new ones appear, the more the supposition is justified—manifest by the Venus of the Julii and by some others—that their choice is due to special relations with the family of the official in charge. A quiet but highly significant transformation, only a few aspects of which we can trace here, is thus revealed.

IV

Since the monetary representations concerning the idea of the state began to vanish in the decades of the Gracchi owing to the selfish efforts of the controlling officials to supplant the old devices by new ones, relating to the might and glory of their families, no general

¹ H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, p. 57. Id., *PrBAc.* 1953, pp. 282 ff. But cf. also S. Eitrem, in the commemorative volume for P. Oikonomos, Athens, 1954, pp. 32 f.

rules or prescriptions restrained the new trend. The *monetales* had a completely free hand in the introduction and choice of the types, and therefore the emergence of the relentless egoism of the clans developed smoothly and rapidly. Both the partisans of the conservative politics of the nobility and also the young revolutionaries who fostered the welfare of the common man were alike publishing the great achievements of their own forerunners. An unheard of variety of new types inundated the denarii, but the impression of a confused aggregation disappears the moment we recognize the leading tendencies of this medley of pictures. Some few examples will illustrate this.

The main theme of the silver coinage from Marius to Caesar was the glory of the leading *gentes*, which had a quite different practical significance for their young offspring functioning as *Illiviri monetales* than it would have today. In ancient—and still in modern—times, in the mind of the man in the street to whom the propaganda was directed, the great deeds of ancestors created prejudice in favour of the trustworthiness of their offspring and were regarded as an anticipated guarantee of their efficiency in the magistrature.

In Rome, quite obviously, the exploits of ancestors famous in war were the most favoured in coin-propaganda. Witness the celebrated cavalry-charges of A. Postumius Regillensis and Manlius Torquatus, the less-known capture of a hostile camp by C. Numonius Vaala; the heroic single combats of C. Minucius Thermus (cos. 193 B.C.), M. Servilius Pulex Geminus, and M. Sergius Silus (praetor in 193 B.C.); A. Licinius Nerva on horseback, dragging an enemy by the hair behind him; Crepusius, brandishing his spear as a cavalryman; valiant young men like the military tribune P. Fonteius Capito or the Aemilius who killed a foe when 15 years old. T. Didius brandishes a knout that suffices to shatter his opponent, a fully armed slave—the reality of the terrible upheaval of the slaves in Sicily was quite different, of course. A naval victory of P. Sulpicius Galba and his magnanimity towards the Greeks is adroitly illustrated (Pl. 48, no. 21) with an iconographical scheme which corresponds to the glorification of Aemilius Paullus (Pl. 43, no. 8). A decisive victory—perhaps a fictitious one—of a Memmius is symbolized by a trophy; M. Claudius Marcellus is represented carrying the *spolia opima* of a Gallic chieftain (222 B.C.) to Juppiter Feretrius on the denarius of

the partisan of Caesar, Lentulus Marcellinus (Pl. 55, no. 16), struck in Sicily.

Famous enemies are shown: Philip V on the coins of two Marcii Philippi, King Bituitus of the Arverni on a series struck by officials who—as H. Mattingly suggested—were entrusted with the foundation of Narbo Martius; Jugurtha and his delivery through Bocchus to Sulla on denarii of Faustus Sulla; Vercingetorix in fetters under a trophy, adorning an emission of coins by Caesar in 49. The magnificent head of a frantically rushing Gallic warrior and that of a mourning Gallic woman symbolize Caesar's victorious campaigns on coins of one of his former legates (Pl. 50, nos. 10–11); the head of the mourning Hispania brings to mind the warlike achievement of A. Postumius Albinus, praetor in 180 B.C. (Pl. 40, no. 16).

The *carnyx* with a Celtic shield as petty emblems on an early denarius of some member of the clan of the Decii, announcing a Celtic victory, and their appearance on a denarius of 49 B.C. (Pl. 49, no. 17), where they fill the whole reverse with the same purpose, illustrate the early restriction and the later expansion of family-propaganda, heedless of the state. Similarly the trunk of an elephant, calling to mind the decisive victory of L. Caecilius Metellus in 251, and the Macedonian shield, evoking the memory of the success of a later Caecilius, reappear on coins of subsequent generations more and more prominently displayed in the foreground, displacing step by step the representations of the common weal. The triumphal monument of the consul C. Coelius Caldus, erected by L. Caldus, is the 'certificate' of the *monetalis* C. Coelius Caldus (Pl. 47, nos. 22 ff.) of his own fitness for the ascent up the ladder of office. A little later such a trophy has already come to advertise the personal glory of the originator of a coin; L. Staius Murcus graciously gives his hand in help to the collapsed Asia (Pl. 112, no. 10). In this respect, there is no difference between Caesarians and their 'Republican' opponents: *personal* propaganda gains the upper hand with them all.

Often, instead of success on the battlefield, stress is laid on the help of the divinity which enabled the general to win a victory. The capture of Privernum (341 B.C.) through his ancestor is announced in 58 B.C. with the accompanying picture of *Juppiter propugnator* by the aedile P. Plautius Hypsaesus, who wished to pave the way

for the consulate with this exhibition of ancestral virtue. For the same purpose, a well-known sacrifice to Diana by A. Postumius Albinus before a decisive clash is exhibited on a silver piece struck by a descendant of his. On the occasion of the sacrifice the union of the whole of Latium under the leadership of Rome was predicted by the goddess.

We have enlarged on these details to show that features of the innumerable wars of Rome could be remembered, legendary and real victories alike, together with dubious and spurious family claims to such achievements; great leaders of the past and secondary figures are alike recorded. This many-coloured picture was conceived on the same lines as the contemporaneous swelling up of the annalistic tradition from the time of the Gracchi—conceived in both cases to vindicate the political aspirations of the nobility for the supreme power in the state.

V

To this fostering of reputation by the clans of the aristocracy were due the statues of their ancestors, multiplied by them to such a gross extent that again and again many had to be removed to free the forum and its adjacent parts from a rampant growth. On the coins there appeared first the well-known column in the corn-market of the early *praefectus annonae* L. Minucius (Pl. 26, no. 15; Pl. 27, no. 16), whose spurious inscription (Livy iv, 16, 2-4) was inspired by the ruthless exhibitionism of his offspring. The statue of a renowned Man. Aemilius Lepidus (Pl. 94, no. 11), of a Licinius Macer (Pl. 38, no. 9), came next, with that of L. Marcius Philippus (Pl. 93, no. 18) and the equestrian statue of Philippus on the arches of his *aqua Marcia* (Pl. 48, no. 17). The prototypes of scenes conceived to glorify Aemilius Paullus, the conquerer of Macedonia (Pl. 43, no. 8), and the successful general Ser. Sulpicius Galba (Pl. 48, no. 21), or to record the beneficial activity of A. Postumius Albinus in Spain (Pl. 40, no. 16 *rev.*), or the sacrifice of Postumius Albinus to Diana (Pl. 40, no. 15) must be sought in wall-paintings and reliefs decorating the *atria* of the nobles.

The statues of ancestors and the illustration of their glorious deeds were gradually replaced by the likenesses and exploits of the living,

as already stated. Essential in this evolution was the exhibitionism of totally insignificant figures, until the most powerful actors in public life checked such boastfulness and made propaganda an increasingly monarchical monopoly. If the attributes of the ancestral high offices were by preference represented on the earlier coins, the typical implements of the priesthoods of the state held by the coining officials themselves began to occupy the reverses about the time of the first consulate of Pompey and Crassus (Pl. 44, nos. 17 and 19) and such devices were not only imitated by men of lesser importance but were also displayed systematically, as equivalent in some way to titles, by Caesar and Antonius, Brutus and Cassius, Sextus Pompey and Octavian.

In 58 B.C. M. Aemilius Scaurus presents the submission of the Arabian sheik Aretas without a reference to his own supreme commander Pompey (Pl. 123, nos. 7-9), just as A. Plautius, in 54, presents the humiliation of the high priest of the Jews (Pl. 49, no. 2). This self-glorification can extend to the quite frivolous commemoration of a Macedonian quaestorship and to the delightful hunting of goats in Crete by the friend of Cicero, Cn. Plancius, in 54 (Pl. 49, no. 3), who depicts the head of the personification of Macedonia and Cretan hunting-prey on his denarii struck when he was a *curule aedile*.

Such diversions could not long flourish. Behind the officials in charge of the mint appeared the shadow of the mightiest—first, that of Pompey. Hints of the arrival of a new Romulus, founder of a fortunate state of affairs, in 62 (Pl. 45, nos. 5-8) and in 57 (Pl. 48, no. 10) allude to him; his is the patroness, Venus, celebrated by the *monetales* between 61 and 55 (Pl. 46, nos. 2-8; Pl. 47, nos. 18, 21; Pl. 48, nos. 20, 22). As the conqueror of the world and the bringer of peace Pompey is celebrated on coins of his son-in-law in 55 (Pl. 48, no. 23 *rev.*) and by L. Vinicius in 52 (Pl. 49, no. 4). He is still more elevated and transfigured to a divine being by his sons from 46 onwards, as was Caesar in 44 and from the summer of 43 onwards. Brutus let himself be portrayed as redeemer from evil (*servator*) (Pl. III, no. 12), whereas C. Cassius was satisfied with the more modest role of the tyrannicide, who vindicated freedom.

Against the alarming superiority of the power of Pompey and his two associates the old aristocracy countered vigorously with a display

of the merits of their *gentes*. Among these arguments, justifying the collective rule of the nobility instead of the paramount personal might of the triumvirate, were the magnificent public buildings erected by their ancestors.¹ The *puteal Libonis* (Pl. 43, nos. 10-13), the *basilica Aemilia* with the *imagines clipeatae* of that princely house (Pl. 46, nos. 11-12), the old *villa publica* renovated by T. Didius (Pl. 48, no. 7), and the arcades of the *aqua Marcia* (Pl. 48, nos. 17-18) are the main examples of this propaganda-show of buildings, the political significance of which is stressed by the colossal efforts of Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar to outdo them in size and splendour and by the imperial monopoly of the main building activity in the architecture represented under and after Augustus.

VI

If the reverses of the *denarii* were completely appropriated for the exhibition of ancestral glory in the last century of the Republic, from its beginning onwards the heads of divine beings on the obverses could not be so easily exchanged for their portraits, in spite of the highly important role of the wax masks in all the display of prestige of the princely houses. The obverse on Greek coins had been reserved for the gods of the Greek city-states and for the portraits of the Hellenistic rulers. If in Rome the *imagines maiorum* intruded upon this especially honoured preserve, this meant a break-out of the aspirations of the nobility aiming at something more than the leading position they had obtained. Those *fumosae imagines* had in fact a magic effect on the highly conservative voters of the rural tribes, whose support was of decisive value in the *comitia tributa* and for whose mentality the established descent, even the physical likenesses, detectable in the offspring of famous statesmen guaranteed a repetition of ancestral efficiency.

This great political effect is the true explanation of the fact that the public exhibition of ancestral wax masks on periodic and solemn occasions was a jealously guarded privilege of the nobility. And long before the appearance of ancestral portraits on the coins the aristocrats wore finger-rings with such portraits, and signed letters and

¹ Cf. Münzer, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*, pp. 317 f.

documents with them. The revolutionaries, too, realized the value of the likenesses of their dead leaders for the sake of their propaganda. The statues of the dead Gracchi and of the living praetor of 85 B.C., Marius Gratidianus, erected and honoured with religious ceremonies by the people; the possession and the public exhibition of the bust of the seditious tribune L. Appuleius Saturninus—both forbidden by the senate—in 99 and in 63; the reintroduction of the masks of Marius in the funeral procession of his aunt in 68 by Caesar, and Caesar's reconstruction of the trophies of Marius together with his portrait-statue—all these asserted the stirring power of the features of those great past political leaders, not to mention the year 55, when the hirelings of the oligarchy tried to destroy the statues of Pompey.

If, in spite of such evident propagandist value, ancestral portraits did not appear on the coins till the last agony of the Republic, this can be due only to the existence of the final remnants of the sense of subordination to the state, which disappeared in the fifties. The only exception is easily to be explained: the helmeted head of Scipio Africanus and the allusion to his divine descent on the denarii of Cn. Cornelius Blasio at the beginning of the century (Pl. 94, nos. 16-17; Pl. 95, nos. 1-4) glorified a national hero, even though his clan too profited from his exaltation. But the real series of ancestral portraits—of human ones—begins very late: the head of C. Coelius Caldus (cos. 94) appeared in 54; in 53 those of Q. Pompeius Rufus (cos. 88) and of Sulla. In 50 M. Brutus puts the heads of the tyrannicides L. Brutus and Servilius Ahala on his coins—in the same spirit as the above-mentioned partisans of the welfare of the people did with the portraits of Saturninus and Marius. In 49 Decimus Brutus exhibited the portrait of his father, A. Postumius Albinus, on his denarii; a little later Lentulus Marcellinus did the same with the great Marcellus. In 45 C. Antius Restio followed their example with a fine ancestral portrait.

Still more significant, of course, was the portrait of a living man on the coins—either as a sign of his aspiration to absolute power, or as a testimony of the willingness of peoples or cities to recognize the sovereign qualities of such a man. The portraits of the Elder Africanus on silver coins in Spain and on bronzes of Canusium,¹ as well as the

¹ Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, pl. 24, no. 2; E. S. G. Robinson, *NC Proc.* 1930, p. 4.

kinglike portrait on the aureus of T. Quinctius Flamininus with a *Latin* legend, though not originated by them, allow us to understand the sudden rise of the kingly man who exasperated Cato the Elder. It was the vehement reaction led by Cato which delayed the emergence of the single dictator-like personality for a long while, and, with it, the portraiture of living persons on coins. But a backdoor had been left open on the reverse of the coins and portraiture of the living crept in through it.

As early as the epoch of the Gracchi, M. Minucius Augurinus was represented paying religious honours to his famous forerunner (Pl. 26, no. 15), like another member of the same family a little later (Pl. 27, no. 14). In 100 B.C. the quaestors Piso and Caepio are to be seen supervising the distribution of corn to the people (Pl. 29, no. 12), like the later plebeian aediles Fannius and Critonius (Pl. 38, no. 6). But this sort of self-advertising was restricted after the civil war to the party-leaders, whose portraits seem to be put on the military standards and banners with their names from that time onward, as A. von Premenstein suggested. The triumphal representations of Marius (Pl. 32, no. 7), of Sulla (Pl. 110, nos. 5-10), and soon after him of Pompey (Pl. 110, no. 13), and the picture of the gilded bronze equestrian statue of Sulla (Pl. 110, no. 11) illustrate this. Some of the coins just mentioned bring out still more clearly the role of the living leaders, even turning the obverse to appropriate advantage: thus Sulla Felix employs the bust of Virtus, and the young Magnus that of Africa. Such close connexions between prominent personalities and special obverses make the latter the forerunners of living portraits—for example the Clementia of Caesar (Pl. 49, nos. 12-15) and the elephant, trampling down a Gaulish war trumpet, alluding also to Caesar (Pl. 103, no. 5).

The portrait of the party-leader on the obverse creeps in in 46 through somewhat curious ways. The beautiful veiled female head on the aurei of the praetor A. Hirtius (Pl. 51, nos. 20-21) assumes the features of the rugged face of Caesar (Pl. 51, no. 24). In the same period the sons of Pompey struck *asses* in Spain on which both the profiles of Janus have been assimilated to the features of their father (Pl. 101, nos. 13-14)—an anticipation of the conception of *divi filius* by Augustus, and also a challenge to Caesar, the stimulus of which could well have

induced the Senate to confer on Caesar the privilege of being portrayed on the obverse. How the rise of Caesar to the sovereignty is mirrored on the coins of 44 has been treated elsewhere in detail,¹ as well as the portraiture of Antonius in announcing his aspirations as Caesar's heir. The heads of Brutus and Octavian, as well as that of a lady camouflaged as Victory on the coins of the Ciceronian party in 43,² are curious illustrations of the irresistible trend of this process, which continues with the heads of *divus Iulius* and of the *divi Iuli filius* in the autumn of 43. The final appropriation of the coin-portrait to the monarch and his family followed then through stages which cannot be traced farther here.

Different ways and means of the characterizing of apotheosis on the portraits of living and dead persons have been already touched on; we also find traces of it on the reverses. The ancestor of L. Farsuleius Mensor, ascending the chariot of Minerva (Pl. 42, nos. 18, 19), symbolizing the superhuman aspiration of the nobility (the subject of Petronius' later jest when he describes the wall-paintings with the gods managing the ascent of Trimalchio) is an example from the seventies. Others are furnished when Antonius and Octavia, instead of Neptune and his wife, ride on the back of sea-monsters (Pl. 114, no. 14; Pl. 115, nos. 1-2) and when Sextus Pompey poses as the son of Neptune (Pl. 120, nos. 13-15).

Apotheosis was also part of the apparatus by means of which the nobility tried to give a moral foundation to its aspirations for autocratic collective rule. The primitive religious thinking of the masses, the influence of Hellenistic ideas as well as the Platonic exaltation of the virtuous man, served equally as a platform for the theoretical foundation of this claim. Like Hercules and the Dioscuri, not only Romulus reached heaven as a reward for his patriotic merits, but all great statesmen of Rome as well, one after the other. A common argument to strengthen the claims of the aristocracy to continuous leadership was that of the descent of its stock from the gods. An essential feature of these pretensions is that they were for the most part not based on legendary traditions of a venerable antiquity, but on recent forgeries, founded only on childish inventions. The coins

¹ A. Alföldi, *Bull. Soc. Roy. d. Sc., Lund*, 1953, No. 1.

² A. Alföldi, in *Netherlands Year-Book of History of Art*, 1954, pp. 151 ff.

show that Caesar was not the first politician who had recourse to the divine origin of his family in vindicating his right to a high career. The new features in his divine connexions lay rather in their official approval and in his proclamation as a living god, than in the supposed novelty of the claims as such. The monarchical character of divine aspirations was finally established under Augustus, when the assertions of a descent from the gods could not be publicly and seriously claimed by others than the reigning dynasty.

The more relevant antecedents are those before Caesar. Propaganda of divine origin by candidates for high office reaches us through impudent manipulations—mostly through clumsy play with etymologies—by which gods and heroes could be placed at the head of the pedigrees. Neptune and Leuconoë are claimed as first progenitors of the Plautii Hypsaei on coins of 58 B.C. (Pl. 48, nos. 2–5), Mnestheus as ancestor of the Memmii—combining *μνησθῆναι* with *memoria*, presumably—(Pl. 95, no. 10), Ulixes as that of the Mamilii (Pl. 40, no. 9), while the Titii would derive their pedigree from Mutinus Titinus (Pl. 36, no. 1).

As a closely related qualification of fitness for governing positions descent from the old kings of Rome was proclaimed. *Odium regii nominis*, so often declared, might make this tendency surprising—but only to those who did not realize the strong ambivalence for the Romans of the idea of kingship, which had also often been painted with the brightest colours. The evidence for such a venerable origin was again mostly demonstrated by some simple assonance and by filling genealogical gaps with fictitious names. The Pomponii alleged that they came down from Pompo, father of Numa (Pl. 97, no. 3); the Calpurnii, from Calpus, the son of the same pious king. Only the diadem of the king, with its ultimate allusion to tyrannical desires, made it difficult to represent a monarch on a Roman coin. But Cn. Piso, a legate of Pompey, camouflaged the obvious ribbon by inscribing the name of NVMA on it (Pl. 100, no. 15); it may be noticed that another Cn. Calpurnius could allow the representation of the ominous *insigne* without hindrance under Augustus.¹ It was only the assonance of their name with that of Ancus Marcius which encouraged the Marcii Reges, a branch of a mighty

¹ For an excellent example see Ryan Sale, no. 2250.

clan of the plebeian aristocracy, to connect their origin with that ferocious king, but other branches of the same stock did this too, for example, C. Marcius Censorinus (Pl. 37, nos. 10-12, 15, 17), who introduced the joined heads of Numa and Ancus on his coinage in the decade of Marius and Sulla, and Marcius Philippus, who did not refrain in 56 from the exhibition of the detested symbol of kingship on the head of Ancus (Pl. 48, no. 17). Without the diadem, but with the uncombed hair of pristine virtue, King Titus Tatius figures on the obverses of *monetales* of Sabine stock, L. Titurius Sabinus (Pl. 37, nos. 1 ff.), and T. Vettius (Pl. 43, no. 7).

VII

After the shining successes of the elder Scipio the masses wondered whence came the astonishing and superhuman mental power and energy of the great saviours in darkest days. Overwhelming victorious capacity was regarded either as a 'mana'-like magic fluid or as a special gift of the divinity. Concerning Africanus major, we learn from the coin-types of Cn. Cornelius Blasio (Pl. 94, nos. 16-17; Pl. 95, nos. 1-4) that his connexion with Jupiter was generally accepted at the beginning of the first century. Polybius, who violently opposed the popular belief in the divine inspiration of his hero, preferred to portray him as a dubious character feigning to be guided by divinity so as to inflame the superstitious soldiery and the populace of Rome, and he found a zealous pupil in Sulla, who set out to imitate that great Cornelius, counterfeiting cynically the supposed attitude of Scipio and depicting *ad nauseam* the constant help which the gods poured on him, with the pathetic colours of an anticipated *vita Constantini*.

As the favourite of godhead, Sulla was flattered by the surname *Felix* first by persons around him, but on his expedition in Greece he himself assumed this designation of heavenly mercy lavished on him. And if the inscription of his trophies near Chaeronea expresses this *cognomen* by means of *Ἐπαφρόδιτος*, this corresponds exactly to the conjunction of those two trophies on his contemporaneous coins (Pl. 110, nos. 1-4) with the head of Venus Victrix. After he swept

away all his enemies, the Senate officially accredited this surname to him, and it appears in abridged form on his gold coins showing his equestrian statue on the *rostra*, L·SVLL·FELI·DIC· (Pl. 110, no. 11). To believe in his *Felicitas* was an obligatory creed (Cicero, *Pro S. Rosc. Amer.* 47, 136; cf. 8, 22); nay more, the public cult of the *Genius publicus* with *Fausta Felicitas* and *Venus Victrix* attests a sort of canonization of his divine inspiration—as Wissowa realized long ago.

The divine patroness of Sulla was also supposed to bring luck to the whole world. The charming gold and silver pieces, combining the head of Venus with the double Egyptian cornucopiae, bound together with the ribbon of the diadem of the kings, announce this (Pl. 110, no. 12). The caduceus and the balance, symbols of luck and justice, beside the head of Venus on the denarii of a partisan of Sulla (Pl. 100, nos. 1-3) make the same promise. Venus, appearing to Sulla in the famous dream, was still celebrated on the coins in 44 by one of his descendants (Pl. 54, no. 12). This Venus is a syncretistic deity, being a moon-goddess at the same time, for she also appears on the coins of Faustus Sulla galloping in her biga across the night sky with the symbols of imperial power, with which she invested the ruthless dictator (Pl. 47, nos. 18-20).

Greek features were not lacking in this almighty Venus, who, as their Trojan ancestress, helped the Romans in the struggle on mount Eryx, and whose universalistic conception was taught by Cynics and the Stoa. But the influence of the hellenized Orient was not absent in this multifarious divine conception. Bellona, assimilated already on the coins of Licinius Murena to a moon-goddess (Pl. 93, no. 15) as also on the denarii of M. Volteius (Pl. 42, no. 4), where she appears as the *pedisequa* of Cybele, also participated in the comprehensive divine power of the Sullan Venus. Bellona handed to the dreaming Sulla the thunderbolts to smash his antagonists; a *fanaticus* of Bellona prophesied his victory, and it was not by mere chance that he convened the Senate in the sanctuary of Bellona after his victory near the Colline gate. Further syncretistic components of the cosmic All-Mother Venus of Sulla can be grasped from wall-paintings of Pompeii, a *colonia Veneria Felix Sullana*; but we can suppose with F. Cumont that All-Mother Isis did not fail to exert her influence on this

universal heavenly power, marvellously invoked in the prooemium of Lucretius; coins of 55 B.C. strongly support this assumption (Pl. 45, nos. 9-12).¹

Not only Sulla, but also the Marii, Lucullus, and Pompey sought the protection of this Venus, *optimates* and *populares* alike. Nor does the Venus of the Memmii (Pl. 31, nos. 5 ff.) and of the praetor C. Naevius Balbus (Pl. 41, nos. 2-3) seem to be any other divinity than this. The son of the Marian consul C. Norbanus illustrates the cosmic power of Venus with the symbols of rule on sea and land and with those of luck and abundance (Pl. 40, nos. 12-14). Amor breaks Jupiter's bunch of thunderbolts on a quinarius of Julius Bursio (Babelon, no. 7). Venus governs with Jupiter and *Libertas* on the coin-types of C. Egnatius Maxsumus (Pl. 42, nos. 15-17). *Venus Victrix* and Amor adorn the coins of the propraetor M. Porcius Cato (Pl. 95, nos. 15-18).

The colossal complex of buildings around the theatre of Pompey was crowned by the temple of Venus, who played the same role with him as with Sulla. *His* is the Venus, as we may guess, who appears on the denarii so often between his return from the Orient and his second consulate.

The belief during the first century B.C. in the supreme power of Venus was confirmed by Caesar also—the more easily because he could join his devotion to her with that paid to his own ancestress, the Venus of Troy. But that his *Genetrix* was none other than the Venus of Sulla is attested by the coins of his *moneta castrensis* (Pl. 101, no. 9) showing with the bust of the goddess (besides the sceptre of world-rule) also the attribute of imperial might, the *lituus*, as in the case of Sulla. As in the case of Sulla again, Amor announces by means of the double cornucopiae, placed on the cosmic globe, the divine luck to be brought by the protégé of Venus (Pl. 52, nos. 22-23). It was as a conscious antithesis to the personal luck and divine support of the autocratic army leaders that there was conceived the *Fortuna populi Romani* of the republicans in 49 (Pl. 49, no. 10) and in 43 (Pl. 55, no. 17).

But before Caesar and Augustus monopolized the special protection of the divinity, army commanders of a secondary importance

¹ Cf. A. Alföldi in *Schweiz. Münzbl.* 1954, pp. 25 ff.

also tried to stress the special favour of heaven towards themselves. The investiture with power and the illumination with glory by Juno Sospita is the main theme of the coinage of Q. Cornuficius (Pl. 121, nos. 15-16; Pl. 122, no. 1); the iconographical prototype is a royal investiture (Pl. 46, no. 10), the first example for this act in the whole Roman source-material, so far as I can see.¹

VIII

As with the simplified badges of modern extremist political movements, single objects, or small groups of objects, could also acquire a highly intensified political significance in the course of the political evolution of the Republic.

The curule chair was a simple but expressive attribute of high office. P. Fourius Crassipes (Pl. 39, no. 9) and M. Plaetorius Cestianus (Pl. 45, nos. 9-11) use it as the sign of their own curule aedileship. Q. Pompeius Rufus employs it as the symbol of the consular dignity of both his grandfathers (Pl. 48, no. 16). The *sella curulis* superimposed over the sceptre and the golden wreath of the kings (Pl. 49, no. 5) on the scarce denarius of the son of the consul Valerius Messala indicates the suppression of the dictatorial designs of Pompey in 53.* The honour of the curule chair conferred on the newly styled prefects of the city by Caesar seems to be meant on the reverses of Lollius Palikanus (Pl. 50, no. 19), Considius Paetus (Pl. 52, nos. 12-15) and L. Furius Brocchus (Pl. 48, no. 19)—and certainly in the case of L. Livineius Regulus (Pl. 57, nos. 12, 16) in 42 B.C.

This sober and practical interpretation of the *sella* contrasts strangely with features which connect the same representations with the cult of the empty throne. A wreath is laid on the ivory seat of Fourius Crassipes, festive garlands solemnly clothe the curule chair of Plaetorius Cestianus, a wreath on the cushion is conspicuous on the chairs of Lollius Palikanus, Considius Paetus, and Livineius Regulus. This profane use of the ceremonial arrangements of the *sellisternium* is likely to be explained by the previous application of this cult-honour of gods and kings to the cult of the predecessors of the nobility, being used until it became a meaningless decoration; as such,

¹ I shall stress Hellenistic antecedents elsewhere.

the festoons and wreaths could be adapted to the seat of curule magistrates in charge. The curious mixture of ritual accessories and magisterial distinction can still be observed much later in the exhibition at the public games of the wreath-bearing curule chairs honouring the memory of Germanicus, which were placed between the chairs of acting officials equated with the dead prince in rank. But the ritual meal offered to the immortal gods *and* to Marius in the transport of joy at the victory over the Cimbri and Teutons implies the exhibition of an empty seat of honour also for the living general. A most curious testimony for this rite is to be seen in a coin-type of Q. Cassius, glorifying several titles of the famous Cassius Ravila. It shows an empty *sella curulis* under a round chapel (Pl. 48, nos. 11-12), corresponding exactly to the description by Cicero (*De domo* 53, 136) of the monument erected by the Vestal Licinia in 123 B.C. to the memory of her father, and destroyed by the Senate on the initiative of that severe *popularis*. This expropriation of a rite of divinization* (and the attributes of monarchical rule on the golden chair of the dead Alexander under a similar round tabernacle, to which the foremost dignitaries paid their reverence, are not to be forgotten) by the nobles is an important historical symptom, the gradual vulgarization of which led to the frequent representation of the *sellisternium* on sepulchral monuments of simple provincials. But it is now obvious that the golden chair of Caesar exhibited at the games (Pl. 104, no. 12) was no fresh oriental importation, but only an accelerated culmination of the evolution here briefly outlined.

How a most simple attribute could be intensely charged with a political emphasis is shown by the changing aspects of the employment of the augural staff on coins. It was well known that augury, the finding out of the will of the divinity through the observation of the flight of birds, was once the privilege of the kings, then that of the patricians, and became accessible to the plebeian aristocracy only quite late; it still remained a highly efficient political weapon in the late Republic. No wonder that descendants of famous augurs boasted with the *lituus*, a symbol of the *avita et paterna sacerdotia*; for example, the two Minucii Augurini (Pl. 26, no. 15; Pl. 27, no. 16) and several of the offspring of C. Serveilius Augur (Pl. 30, nos. 4-5; Pl. 47, no. 16). But the case became quite different when the *lituus* was related

to a living man. There are cases in which he wishes only to augment his reputation with the great authority emanating from his augural priesthood. But Sulla applied the staff of the augur in a quite different sense: flanking the two trophies which symbolize his two decisive victories, the *capis* and *lituus* stand for the two aspects of imperatorial power: *ductu auspicioque* (Pl. 110, nos. 1-4). His son, too, adds the *lituus* and the *capis* to the three trophies of Romulus (Pl. 48, no. 22), and his grandson distinguishes him from his other consular grandfather through the augural staff and the laurel wreath of the triumphator (Pl. 48, no. 16). The intimate friend of Sulla, Metellus Pius, depicts in such a laurel wreath the curved staff and the jug with the legend IMPER(ator) (Pl. 100, no. 11). Not less clear is the same meaning of the *lituus* on the aurei struck for the African triumph of Pompey, the young helper of Sulla (Pl. 110, no. 13). The supreme rank and might of the *imperator* Pompey is signalized also through the *lituus* placed beside his head after his death (Pl. 120, nos. 5-10), exactly as with Caesar (Pl. 122, no. 4, &c.). This latter allowed himself to be enrolled among the augurs after Pharsalus and exhibited the insignia of his augurate with those of the chief pontiff (Pl. 121, nos. 13-14); but the *lituus* points in his case more frequently to his supreme military authority (Pl. 51, nos. 20 ff.; Pl. 54, nos. 4, 6, &c.)—as also with the emperors of the first dynasty.

The augur was the *interpres Iovis Optimi Maximi*. He heralded the orders of the *imperator divum atque hominum* (Plautus, *Rud.* 9; *Amphitr.* 1121). This original connexion of the *lituus* with the supreme god was never forgotten, as the denarii of M. Junius Silanus (Pl. 92, nos. 15-17), the aureus of the general Cn. Lentulus (Pl. 100, no. 14), and the Romulus-type of Q. Cassius (Pl. 48, no. 10) illustrate. It is the more surprising that the symbol of the right of the imperatorial *auspicia* is brought to the dreaming Sulla by Venus (Pl. 47, no. 20 *rev.* and Pl. 47, no. 18 *obv.*). On other coins, as well, Venus is represented lending supreme power to her favourite, to the *Ἐπαφρόδιτος* (Pl. 110, nos. 1-4; Pl. 54, no. 12), as we have already seen; and the same is true of Caesar (Pl. 101, no. 9). The *lituus* and the laurel crown of the *imperator* are lent to Q. Cornuficius by another divine protector, Juno Sospita (Pl. 121, nos. 15-16; Pl. 122, no. 1). In this way Sulla, and the 'condottieri' after him, dispossessing Jupiter in a quite

revolutionary way, and substituting for his decisive political role the protection of other especially attractive divinities, had laid the new foundations for the theory of monarchical rule *dei gratia*. Other symbols tell us a no less interesting story. How the attribute of the wreath and the act of crowning someone with it are transferred in the course of the evolution from the gods to men, and from dead ancestors to living autocrats, has been sketched in another study.¹

The historical importance of cosmic symbolism lies in the fact that the idea of world rule, emerging in relation to the *imperium Romanum*, is shown on the coins being shifted from the State to the individuals usurping supreme power, and this *before* Caesar. The Roman rule of the world under the protection of Venus, for example, is proclaimed on the coins of the *populares* in 82 (Pl. 40, nos. 12-14). The world rule of the *Genius populi Romani* is expressed in the seventies by the personification which shows him putting his foot on a globe, holding sceptre and cornucopiae (Pl. 42, no. 23), or by his head, accompanied by sceptre, royal wreath, and globe (Pl. 100, nos. 12-13). The *domina Roma*, shown as a warlike amazon, setting her foot on a globe, holding a sceptre, gives her right hand to the personification of Italy, bringing the riches of peace (Pl. 43, no. 5). But in 55 there are depicted, around the globe, the three triumphal wreaths of Pompey together with his golden wreath, accompanied by the *aplustre* of thalassocracy and the corn-ear of prosperity on earth which he brought about (Pl. 48, no. 23). In 52 we see again the same four wreaths of Pompey, by now a sovereign ruler of Rome (under the pseudonym of a sole consul); Victory, dancing in wild joy, bears his wreaths. The globes beside the bust of Magna Mater in 55 (Pl. 45, nos. 9-11), under the foot of Aion Pantheus in 42, and under the shield of *Venus Victrix* in 44 (Pl. 55, nos. 2-3), remind us that the *divine nature* of cosmocratorship has not been obliterated by its transfer to mortals. In 46 and 45 the symbols of world rule and happiness can still be coupled with the head of Venus and Amor in the Caesarian coinage (Pl. 52, nos. 4-6, 22-23); only a few weeks before his death (Pl. 54, no. 11), and in the coinage of his successors in 42 (Pl. 56, nos. 18-20), the same allegorical picture of world rule and heavenly happiness are connected with Caesar himself.

¹ A. Alföldi, *Museum Helveticum*, 1953, pp. 217 ff.

Amidst the terrible pressure exerted by Hannibal the constellation which heralded the return of the Golden Age was trumpeted forth on the coins (Pl. 75, no. 11). So, too, in 42 (Pl. 58, nos. 3-4), when Sol, Luna, and the fixed stars were represented all together; and Lucretius Trio employs the same device (Pl. 42, no. 11), in which the assonance of his name with the *septem triones* does not diminish the validity of this astrological prophecy. An abbreviated form of the representation of that constellation, the half-moon with a star—well known on imperial coins—announces the eternity of the City as early as the time of the rule of the Marian party, being depicted over the scene of the crushing of Tarpeia under the mound of shields thrown upon her (Pl. 37, nos. 4-5).

At the end of the second century B.C. there first appeared the coin-types alluding to the similar conception of the *aurea aetas*, which is so well known to us all from the Messianic poem of Virgil: Apollo with the wreath and cornucopiae of the new Golden Age and with the thunderbolts of the (young) Jupiter behind them (Pl. 30, no. 2). In the decade of the civil wars the note of the *Cumaean carmen* swells to continuous chorus in a couple of years. The bust of Veiovis, characterized as a young Jupiter and as an Apollo alike, is revealed on the denarii of L. Caesius (Pl. 94, no. 10), C. Licinius Macer (Pl. 38, no. 8), on those of the *triumviri* Ogulnius, Gargilius, Verginius (Pl. 39, nos. 10-15), of Man. Fonteius (Pl. 38, nos. 11-14), and Julius Bursio (Pl. 38, nos. 16-17; Pl. 39, nos. 1-6). On the coins of Man. Fonteius the 'little Jupiter' Veiovis is accompanied by Amor riding on a he-goat, entering jubilantly into the happy world. We know that this latter group stood in fact beside the statue of Veiovis in his temple on the Capitoline hill; but the same Amor on the back of the he-goat announces the arrival of the *aureum saeculum* of Antoninus Pius on a bronze medallion, and his exact role is elucidated by the legends IOVI CRESCENTI, and IOVI EXORIENTI, on billon coins of crown princes in the middle of the third century A.D.; i.e. the *magnum Iovis incrementum* of Virgil in a slightly different form. On a quinarius of Julius Bursio (Babelon, no. 7 = CRR no. 730) Amor is breaking the thunderbolt of Jupiter over his knee: Love will reign alone. On Bursio's coins Veiovis bears also the attributes of Neptune and Mercury, quite in the iconographical pattern of a Ptolemy as Aion

Pantheus. This new age, inaugurated by the young Apollo-Jupiter, is connected with the prophecies circulating towards the end of the sixth Etruscan *saeculum*; reckoned from the fall of Troy, the new epoch of the world should begin in 83 B.C. In 42 B.C. Aion returns as Pantheus on aurei of Antony (Babelon, no. 20 = CRR no. 1118).

One or two years before Virgil began the Golden Age with the consulate of his patron Asinius Pollio, C. Cassius allowed the same cosmic event to coincide with the epoch of his own leadership. The zodiacal sign of the Cancer (the culmination of the star of Jupiter in Cancer was supposed to be the beginning of the *aurea aetas*) holds the *aplustre* of thalassocracy, and under it the diadem of the mythical ruler of the world is shown (Pl. 112, no. 8).

IX

Abstract personifications, which played such a preponderant role in the imperial age, emerged rather sporadically in the first half of the century of the civil wars. Apart from *Libertas*, discussed below, the head of *Concordia* is revealed in tense situations: in the troubled years after the death of Sulla (Pl. 43, no. 8), amidst the agitation after Caesar's first consulate (Pl. 48, no. 7), after the murder of Clodius (Pl. 49, no. 4), and before Philippi (Pl. 56, no. 17). The symbol of *Concordia*—the clasped hands, with the pictorial sign of luck, the *caduceus*—is displayed on the eve of terrible civil wars in 49 (Pl. 49, no. 18) and 42 (Pl. 56, no. 17). Appeals and allusions to mighty personalities could be easily introduced in connexion with such allegories. *Pietas*, illustrated by one of the Catanian brothers rescuing his parents, was introduced by M. Herennius to illuminate his own origins (Pl. 30, nos. 19–20), but he was also emphasizing the piety of young Octavian and urging him to avenge Caesar in 42 (Pl. 57, no. 9). The *Pietas* of Metellus Pius (Pl. 100, nos. 10–11 *obv.*), of Sextus Pompey (Pl. 101, no. 12), and of L. Antonius (Pl. 104, nos. 2–8) was purely personal. *Virtus* appears on the obverses as a title of ancestral pride or as a personal glorification, and is defined more precisely on the reverses: C. Publicius (Pl. 41, no. 1) exalts ancestral virtue through the heroic struggle of Hercules, and Aquillius (Pl. 43, no. 6) connects the bust of *Virtus* with the valour of his predecessor who

liberated Sicily. With Virtus, again, Valerius Messala celebrates the alleged moral success of his father in the political struggle in 53 (Pl. 49, no. 5), and A. Manlius the victory of Sulla and the equestrian statue which was its reward (Pl. 110, no. 11). It was not by chance that the goddess of personal destiny, named by the Romans *Felicitas* as well as *Fortuna*, lavishing good luck and success upon her favourites, was not involved in the propaganda of the *res publica* in its last agony. *Felicitas* is first depicted on the obverses of Lollius Palikanus in 47 (Pl. 50, no. 20), *Fortuna* in 43 on the reverses of a henchman of Octavian (Pl. 58, no. 17); in 42 *Nemesis* announces the will of fate (Pl. 58, no. 9), i.e. the victory of the triumvirs.

Similarly, it is no mere chance that the personifications of moral qualities begin to be systematically exploited only at the moment when, early in 49, Caesar occupied Rome. As the whole management of the mint was immediately transformed on his arrival, we can confidently attribute to Caesar himself the systematically distributed series of personifications, the more so as the long list of names of the new Julian colonies testifies to his predilection for them. The expression of his personal desires is seen in the fact that *Clementia* was in 49 reserved for the coinage of the *moneta castrensis* bearing his own name (Pl. 49, nos. 12-15), and was only admitted in 48 to the urban coinage (Pl. 50, no. 9).

A certain role in the system of propaganda was played by the inducements of the public games, a publicly tolerated method of electoral bribery. Towards the end of the second century there appears on the reverse of a denarius of Cn. Domitius the miniature representation of a combat with wild beasts, whereas on the obverse a corn-ear is figured: both together promise *panem et circenses* or rather emphasize the merit of ancestors in having offered them to the people (Pl. 28, no. 5). The processional carriages of the Capitoline triad in the *pompa circensis* on the coins of L. Rubrius Dossenus (Pl. 38, nos. 1-3), the divinities of the great public games on those of M. Volteius (Pl. 42, nos. 1-5), *Magna Mater* on the denarii of the curule aediles C. Fabius Buteo, P. Fourius Crassipes, A. Plautius, and M. Plaetorius Cestianus, appeal to the voters for still higher offices; how different the first appearance on coins of Cybele, with the *desultor* announcing the games without serving individual ambition! The acrobatic horse-

man occurs again as a reminder of delightful games given either by ancestors, as by Ti. Quinctius Trogus (Pl. 94, nos. 8-9) and C. Marcius Censorinus (Pl. 37, nos. 11-12), or by living politicians such as P. Sepullius Macer (Pl. 54, nos. 22-23). The same purpose is served by the pictures of single race-horses on coins of C. Marcius Censorinus (Pl. 37, nos. 12-14), L. Piso Frugi (Pl. 33, nos. 1 ff.), A. Licinius Nerva (CRR no. 958) and C. Piso Frugi (Pl. 46, nos. 13 ff.); all these men would like to give the merit of the establishment of the *ludi Apollinares* to their own predecessors. The organization of other games was claimed in the same manner: *Memmius aed(ilis) Cerialia preimus fecit* (Pl. 49, no. 8), and C. *Serveil(ius) Floral(ia) primus (fecit)* (Pl. 47, no. 16), though C. Clodius Vestalis would attribute the inauguration of the latter festival to an ancestor of his own (Pl. 55, nos. 9-10). The claim that *Sex. Nonius (Sufenas) pr(aetor) l(udos) V(ictoriae) p(rimus) f(ecit)*¹ (Pl. 47, no. 17) supplies the evidence for a phase of the evolution in which popular feasts were introduced, not for the propitiation of the gods but for the glory and prestige of a leader towering above the masses—in this case Sulla. Thus, too, L. Livineius Regulus curried favour with the plebs in 42 with a *venatio* (Pl. 57, no. 17) given apparently in memory of his father.

The adversaries of the Senate, advocating the welfare of the rank and file of the people, had a bigger share in the coin-propaganda than one would think. Of course, uniformity of the coin-types in the epoch of the Gracchi still hindered the advertisement on coinage of the agitation of the *populares*; but not long afterwards their slogans were pictorially reported. The rule of the party of Marius, the revolutionary agitation after the death of Sulla, the flattery of Caesar when in power, as well as the alleged freedom emphasized by Caesar's murderer, gave frequent opportunity for the flowering of this kind of propaganda. It is noticeable, here again, that the strongest accent is laid on ancestral merit in fostering the welfare of the people.

The main theme of the *populares* is of course liberty. *Libertas* was associated by the Romans with the conception of the people in the same way as *auctoritas* was associated with that of the Senate and *potestas* with that of the magistrates. On a denarius of M. Porcius Laeca *Libertas*, crowned by Victory and exhibiting the half-round

¹ It is to be hoped that more concerning this type will be published by H. Mattingly, jr.

pileus libertatis, holds her triumphal entry (Pl. 28, nos. 3-4). About the same time Libertas on a similar reverse of C. Cassius (Pl. 28, no. 11) carries in her hand not the cap of liberty but a *cista*, the implement of the secret ballot, which so much scandalized the nobility—the same object as is reproduced on the obverse. P. Porcius Laeca remembers that his ancestor also secured the *provocatio* against the *imperium* of generals outside the *pomerium* (Pl. 95, no. 13). A. Licinius Nerva stresses the stricter control of the secret poll provided by his forefather (Pl. 93, no. 15). The statue of Marsyas on the Forum, a token of civic liberties, is to be seen on a reverse of L. Marcius Censorinus (Pl. 40, nos. 3-4). In the troubled decade after the death of Sulla, Cassius Longinus revives a memory of the popular *lex tabellaria* of Cassius Ravila (Pl. 49, no. 6). C. Egnatius Maxsumus in the same period heralds the victory of liberty (Pl. 42, no. 17); the bust of Libertas on coins of L. Farsuleius Mensor (Pl. 42, nos. 18-19) is a confession of his democratic faith. In the fifties another Cassius introduces similar allegorical declarations of his adherence to the partisans of the people (Pl. 48, no. 12); C. Coelius Calvus as well recalls the memory of a *lex tabellaria* owed to ancestral merit (Pl. 47, no. 22). On the eve of the civil war M. Brutus glorifies Libertas again and presents both of the great liberators of his family, Lucius Brutus and Servilius Ahala, to the public eye (Pl. 48, nos. 8-9). A year later the return of liberty is announced in the name of Caesar (Pl. 50, no. 6). The son (?) of a seditious agitator of the year 70 celebrates the restitution of the rights of the defenders of the people in a grandiose Roman propagandist scene with the *sella* of the tribunes erected on the *rostra* (Pl. 50, no. 18). The *urna sortitionis* and the *tabella* of the secret ballot decorate—*quasi vindices libertatis*—a sestertius of the same Caesarian mint official (Pl. 50, no. 21).

The restitution of liberty is constantly rendered conspicuous on the rich coinage of Brutus and Cassius while they prepare for the great clash with the Caesarians. Some of their types are of a powerful expressiveness: the daggers of Brutus and Cassius with the *pileus libertatis* (Pl. III, no. 17)—harmonizing but poorly with the king-like portrait of Brutus—and the Victory of Casca Longus, tearing in pieces the royal wreath and treading on the broken sceptre of Caesar (Pl. III, no. 15).

The second main theme of the agitation of the *populares* concerned the agrarian reforms and the corn supply. The most frequently employed symbol of this programme was the corn-ear. It appears as early as the period of the Gracchi, accompanying the monument of one famous friend of the people, L. Minucius (Pl. 26, no. 15; Pl. 27, no. 16). The corn-barrel on a denarius of M. Marcius is a reminder of the fact that 'M. Marcius aedilis plebis primus frumentum populo in modios assibus datavit', Plin. *NH* xviii, 3, 15 (Pl. 27, no. 18). Similar hints must be sought in the corn-ears of the chronologically related types of Cn. Domitius (Pl. 28, no. 5), T. Cloulius (Pl. 29, no. 5 *rev.*), and L. Julius (Pl. 32, no. 6), and in the later ones of L. Valerius Flaccus (Pl. 95, no. 12) and T. Vettius Sabinus (Pl. 43, no. 7). In 100 B.C. the corn-ears are included in the picture recording the purchase of grain by the quaestors Piso and Caepio (Pl. 29, no. 12), and they appear again with the identical picture announcing to the public the official purchase of grain provided by the plebeian aediles Fannius and Critonius (Pl. 38, no. 6). The head of the corn-goddess with the ploughing oxen (Pl. 32, no. 12) or a farmer on the *serrati* (Pl. 40, nos. 17-19) proclaim the programme of the Marian régime. The provision of corn by the Caesarian city-prefects seems to be illustrated by the corn-ears of the types of Lollius Palikanus (Pl. 50, no. 19), L. Furius Brocchus (Pl. 48, no. 19), and L. Livineius Regulus (Pl. 57, no. 16, cf. 12). As a general symbol of abundance provided by the government (Pl. 40, nos. 12-14) or by powerful individuals (Pl. 48, no. 23) or as a sign of the fertility of Africa (Pl. 121, nos. 5-7), the corn-ear loses its political actuality and becomes an abstract ideogram, as it afterwards remained under the emperors.

An important political issue is, in my opinion, reflected by the introduction of the *Genius populi Romani* into the inventory of coin-types. It concerns the question, vital from the time of the Gracchi, whether the idea of *populus Romanus* embraces the Senate or not. Whereas the *populares* would subordinate the Senate as an organ of the people (*senatus populi Romani*, as Sallust and Caesar express it), the Senate, gaining the upper hand, gradually curtails the sovereign rights of the popular assembly; and the new formula *s(enatus) p(opulus) q(ue) R(omanus)* already camouflages, under Augustus, the complete obsolescence of the people's role in the state. The Hercules-like

Genius populi Romani, sitting on the curule chair of the magistrates, holding in his hand the sceptre of the sovereign and the cornucopiae of happy riches and setting his feet on the globe of the world and on the footstool of divinity, with the *caput velatum* of priestly activity (Pl. 42, No. 23), is the anti-senatorial incarnation of the popular conception of majesty. It is also a notable fact that three members of the clan of the Cornelii Lentuli employed this embodiment of the *populus* placed above the Senate—a son of a legate of Marius about 100 B.C. (Pl. 32, nos. 9–11); then Publius, a quaestor in one of the agitated years after Sulla (Pl. 42, no. 23);¹ and almost at the same time Cnaeus, also a quaestor (Pl. 100, nos. 12–13). Very close to the style of the coin of Publius is the head of the *Genius populi Romani* of Iuventius Laterensis (von Bahrfeldt, NZ 1918, p. 136).

We also have a case in which the aspirations of the oppressed and enslaved masses are flattered: amidst the heavy persecution of the revolutionary corporations of the *Isiaci* the bust of Isis Panthea put on the coins by a curule aedile in 55 B.C. (Pl. 45, no. 12) was indeed overtly seditious.²

Whereas the appeal to the *plebs* was so richly unfolded in the age of revolution, coin-types addressed immediately to the soldiery are lacking till the last agony of the Republic. The military standards of the Pompeian quaestor Nerius (Pl. 49, no. 11), and the denarii of C. Valerius Flaccus (Pl. 103, nos. 1–4), closely related to them,* date from 49 B.C. In autumn 43 they reappear with the plough and the *hasta pura*, promising the foundation of veterans' settlements by Octavian (Pl. 58, nos. 18–20) and, also later, expressing the might of Sextus Pompey (Pl. 120, nos. 13–15); the standards of the troops of Antonius (Pl. 116, nos. 1–15) are coupled with the royal ship of Cleopatra, displaying the sceptre with the flying diadem!

Very scanty attention was paid to the provinces on the Republican coins. The appeal to the fidelity of the allies made by the scene of solemn oath and sacrifice on the occasion of treaties in the first Punic war (Pl. 74, nos. 21–22) and on the eve of the social war (Pl. 94, no. 4; cf. 98, nos. 1–4), or the dramatic appeal of Publius Malleolus to the Italic allies advertising the concessions granted through the

¹ This militates against his identification with P. Lentulus Spinther.

² Cf. A. Alföldi, *Schweiz. Münzbl.* 1954, pp. 25 sqq.

lex Plautia Papiria or *Pompeia* (Pl. 96, nos. 4-7) contain no special hint about the allies concerned. The allegorical figure of Italy, in happy harmony with the world-conquering Rome, is introduced to the coinage only after Sulla (Pl. 43, no. 5)—too late a gesture of appeasement. The treaty-sacrifices of Rome with her neighbours on the coins of C. Sulpicius C.f. (Pl. 31, no. 4), C. Serveilius C.f. (Pl. 47, no. 16), and the Augustan C. Antistius Reginus (Pl. 64, no. 18) display only the glorious reminiscences of family history: so too in the case of the *restitutio* of Sicily by Man. Aquillius (Pl. 43, no. 6). The opposing parties of the civil wars cajole the *Trinacria tellus*: the Pompeian consuls of 49 (Pl. 120, nos. 1-3), the Caesarian commanders A. Allienus (Pl. 120, no. 4) and Lentulus Marcellinus (Pl. 55, no. 16) and also Sextus Pompey (Pl. 120, nos. 5-8), in their turn; *Hispania* is flattered in the same way by the sons of Pompey in 46 and 45 (Pl. 101, nos. 5-7), as was Africa on the coins of Metellus Scipio (Pl. 121, nos. 5-7), and Q. Cornuficius (Pl. 122, no. 1). And the security brought to Asia is recorded by Staius Murcus (Pl. 112, no. 10), &c. About 80 B.C. the personification of *Hispania* as a mourning woman occurs, extolling the glory of A. Postumius (Pl. 40, no. 16). *Gallia comata* appears too in 48 (Pl. 50, no. 11) and the fame of the Gaulish auxiliary cavalry of Caesar, who brought a squadron of it with him to Rome, is glorified by P. Crassus in 55 (Pl. 48, no. 20).

Boundless ambitions to seize power cast a gloom over the whole picture we have sketched. But the coins can nevertheless produce a splendid exception amid the lost sense of duty towards the common weal. After the breathless flight of the aristocracy before Caesar in January 49 the whole mint had been left behind, intact with the treasure in the city. For the vitally important coin production of the party of the Senate a new mint was urgently needed. The younger Cato organized this in a short time and in a splendid way in Sicily. On the denarii he caused to be struck, the names of the consuls Lentulus and Marcellinus, and of the praetor Neriis, are to be read. His own name is conspicuous by its absence.

VI

THE PATTERN OF OFFICIAL COINAGE IN THE EARLY PRINCIPATE¹

By MICHAEL GRANT

HAROLD MATTINGLY's contribution to our knowledge of early imperial coinage is as monumental and fundamental as his contributions to almost every other period of Roman numismatics. It goes without saying that every student of this subject is permanently indebted to him; and I can think of few if any students of Roman history, whether they are numismatists or not, whom his work (if they have been wise enough to study it) has not benefited. Those who have had the opportunity of talking frequently with him owe him still more. I am one of them—though in recent years, owing to geographical distance, we have met much less often than I could have wished. Yet my special indebtedness which I recorded a decade ago, has increased; for I have continued to find—like so many others—that in every fresh branch of the subject the first thing to do is to read what Mattingly has said about it. For what he has said is sure to be both exciting and indispensable.

Not surprisingly, then, what I am here writing in his honour owes much to his own guidance. To quote a single one of many debts, a most valuable feature of *Roman Imperial Coinage*, as of his collaborator Sydenham's *Coinage of the Roman Republic*, is the inclusion in its catalogues of indications of relative rarity. For these help us considerably to understand the pattern of imperial coinage. Naturally such indications can only be approximate, and finds will occasionally make it necessary to revise them. But this will not happen often, and the

¹ I am very grateful to the curators of the following collections for the casts which are reproduced on Plates IV and V: British Museum (Pl. IV, 2, 7-9, 11-13, V, 1-6, 8-15), Berlin (Pl. IV, 1, 3, 6), Paris (Pl. IV, 4, 10), Vienna (Pl. V, 7), Cambridge (Pl. V, 5—acquired by me in Turkey). Acknowledgements of further assistance are recorded in footnotes.

immense numbers of coins which have passed through Mattingly's and Sydenham's hands are a sufficient guarantee that these assessments, in the general form in which they are stated, are valid.

There they stand, as an encouragement to further research. And such research, leading to greater exactness, is clearly worth while, for two reasons. First, the relative abundance of coinages today is usually a pretty good guide to their relative abundance when they were issued. It is true that we cannot usually guess what percentage of the original issue is likely to have survived—in other words we cannot deduce, from such survivals as we are able to discover, the approximate number of coins that were issued.¹ Yet we can very often tell with a considerable degree of confidence whether the issue was very extensive, or very small, or something in between (this is, in effect, the 'quantitative' method made possible for its period by the Dorchester Hoard). Moreover, research on this subject can disclose a second important fact also: it can reveal, or suggest, the limits of the area in which a coinage normally circulated. Whether this circulation corresponds with the intention of those who issued it cannot, of course, generally be determined.² Nevertheless, the *de facto* circulation is in itself a very useful thing to know.

If we can give the historian some guidance concerning these two matters, the bulk of a coinage and the region in which it chiefly circulated, we have told him two of the most useful things which he has a right to ask from numismatists. For only when he has some idea of the extent and scope of an issue's circulation can he form a conception of the part which it played in current economic policy—and the part which its designs played in current political and religious propaganda.³

The editors of *RIC* did not make their decision to include rarity-marks until Vol. II (Vespasian-Hadrian), so I have decided here to attempt a sort of Appendix to Vol. I—and in a sense to C. H. V. Sutherland's valuable *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy, 31 B.C.–A.D. 68*—by saying something about the relative bulk and rarity of coinages issued during the Julio-Claudian period. For that epoch (with overlaps into the Flavian period) I want to offer a rough,

¹ Cf. Mattingly, *BMCRE* v, p. cviii, n. 3.

² Perhaps no such intention was usually formulated.

³ *SMACA* p. xiii.

tentative classification of the official coinages of the Roman empire from the viewpoint of their scope and abundance, or lack of abundance. I do not of course claim anything like completeness.

A very considerable number of pieces need to be cleared out of the way of such an investigation at the outset. First of all, since we are dealing with imperial issues, i.e. official issues of the Roman state or its representatives, we can ignore various categories of issue which do not emanate from such authority. That is to say, we can ignore

- (a) coins issued by the governments of provincial cities (and the single Italian city of Paestum), singly or in alliance;
- (b) the issues of tribes;
- (c) the issues of *κοινά* (*Communia*) of provinces or parts of provinces (including for this purpose the issue of the 'free' *κοινόν* of Lycia before it was converted into a province);
- (d) the issues of client-monarchs;
- (e) pieces issued in imitation of official coinage by persons or bodies other than the monetary authorities of the Roman state.

Mintages under the headings (a) and (b) are properly described as 'local'.¹ (c) is a self-contained division which I prefer not to call 'provincial' so as to leave that term free for official issues by Roman authorities intended for a province. Coinages under (d) are juridically not Roman but foreign. Occasionally they are hard to differentiate from imperial issues, i.e. when types of purely Roman significance are employed: for example Pl. IV, 1 under Nero, in honour of Diva Poppaea and the deified Claudia,² may very well have been issued in the dominions of Herod Agrippa II, where they are found.³ Category (e) may be called 'imitations', and they are hard to recognize unless their weight or metal is eccentric or their inscriptions and types blundered (= 'barbarous imitations').

Coins in (a) become increasingly unusual in silver, but exist in gigantic quantities in bronze (especially in Spain, from Augustus to

¹ *RIM* pp. 88 ff. For borderline cases between imperial and local coinages, *FITA* p. 1, n. 1.

² Sydenham, *The Coinage of Nero*, p. 55, no. 1.

³ e.g. a find at Baniyas, of which Professor H. Seyrig has informed me. He reaches a similar conclusion regarding an earlier coin describing Livia as *ΚΑΡΠΙΟΦΟΡΟΣ*; Pellerin, *Mélanges* ii, p. 18, Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* vi, pp. 168 ff. (Berlin). It belongs 'en tout cas à quelque atelier de la maison d'Hérode', *Syria* 1949, pp. 33 ff., n. 5.

Gaius; in Syria; and in Asia, where the climax is reached—as far as the first century is concerned—under Claudius and Nero). (b) comprise a short period of surviving Gallic coinage and thereafter issues of a few Asian communities which have not yet achieved urban status.¹ (d) vary from commonness, at least in their own countries—bronze of Rhoemetals of Thrace is quite abundant in Bulgaria—to extreme rarity, e.g. some of the silver of eastern client-princes under Tiberius and Claudius. (e) are very abundant indeed. Copper pieces imitating Augustus and especially Claudius—not all issued in their lifetimes—are particularly numerous. Care must be taken, however, to avoid indiscriminately labelling any coin of unusual style a ‘barbarous imitation’. It must also be borne in mind that even actual ‘imitations’ were in most cases issued with the (at least tacit) approval of the official authorities.²

Having eliminated non-imperial issues, we must now eject such imperially-issued pieces as played no appreciable part in contemporary money. Karl Pink has taught us not to allow our picture of imperial currency to become confused by the retention of what he terms ‘irregular pieces’.³ His warnings were concerned with the later empire, but they are equally applicable to our present period.⁴ In this epoch we may note—for expulsion from our survey of normal currency—at least two categories of ‘irregular’ piece which did not affect circulation:

- (i) pieces which were not primarily or solely intended for circulation, and which therefore circulated so little that their effect on national economy or publicity was negligible;
- (ii) pieces which were not real coins and therefore did not circulate at all.

Category (i) comprises, in the first century of the Principate, a wide range of different pieces of which the inclusion in lists of ordinary coinages has caused our picture of the latter to become unnecessarily blurred. Though *aes* medallions are not generally supposed to exist during this period, it witnessed the production of a considerable

¹ *FITA* pp. 124, 349, 392.

² *SMACA* pp. 136 f., cf. C. H. V. Sutherland, *NNM* 65, 1935, p. 4.

³ *NZ* 1935, pp. 44 ff., &c.

⁴ Cf. *RAI* p. 60.

number of very rare pieces that differ from coins in structure or style or content, and were apparently intended at least as much for private distribution as for any negligible monetary circulation which they might eventually receive. These pieces differ from one another in character, but I have suggested for most of them the omnibus title *Pre-Medallion* in order to distinguish them from ordinary coinage.¹

The following have seemed to me to provide examples: (1) Tiberius, copper *as*, wreath and chair. Type unique for period, only one specimen known. Doubts have been cast on the authenticity of this piece. But those that follow are certainly genuine. (2) Tiberius and Gaius, three exceedingly rare copper *asses* without S.C. or pictorial type (Rhine mint?). (3) Claudius (for Germanicus), very rare sestertertius, with types of common copper *as*. (4) Claudius (for Nero), sestertius (without S.C.), with types of aureus and denarius (one of group of Moesian origin?). (5) Nero, very rare orichalcum and copper pieces, with types of common dupondii and *asses*, but without S.C., and heavier—and of finer or more distinctive style—than ordinary coins (Pl. IV, 2). (6) Vitellius, very rare bronze piece with ROMA S.C., diverging from normal denominations in metal, weight, and style. (7) Certain gold and silver quinarii: in a few reigns these are not uncommon, but more frequently they are of great rarity and may have been made for distribution, not unlike our Maundy Money; their issues coincide significantly with great official occasions. (8) Rare sestertius-sized pieces of Nero and Titus, which—in the style of later medallions—show busts with armour and a full-size *aegis* respectively. The latter piece has the type of a processional *quadriga* which, at a later date, appears—with a frequency that cannot be fortuitous—on pieces of abnormal weight, as well as on obvious medallions.

I have suggested the title *Sub-Medallion* for certain further specimens 'which, in addition to being very rare, differ from coins in structure, style and content (or in at least two of these)—but do not differ from them so much that unsuitability for circulation is certain'

¹ *RIM* pp. 98 f.; cf. ch. vii in general.

² Cf. my paper 'The Border-line between Roman Coins and Medallions' in the forthcoming Proceedings of the International Numismatic Congress in Paris, 1953. Another type which recurs on a number of abnormally heavy pieces is *Annona Aug.* However, both *quadriga* and *Annona* often appear on normal pieces also.

—though it becomes very probable.¹ One of these is a highly eccentric large *aes* piece of Nero with Victory (which like so many irregular pieces of the early Principate has been unjustly doubted).² Probably the 'Triumphal' copper issue of Augustus should be placed in the same category, seeing that its obverse, size, weight, and style are alike exceptional.

In any case this whole heterogeneous category (i) of *Pre-Medallions* and *Sub-Medallions* is entirely negligible from the point of view of distribution and circulation. Take, for example, *Pre-Medallions* of the sort described under heading no. 5—pieces of Nero with familiar types but no S.C. Sometimes the types are those of *asses*.³ Now I have noted find-sites of 1,972 of Nero's *asses*: yet not a single one of these belongs to the group lacking S.C. (Numerous finds of dupondii again fail to reveal a single piece without S.C.)⁴ And yet a large majority of these 1,972 finds belong to areas by no means far from the two great issuing centres, in Italy and Gaul. Most of the pieces without S.C., even when their types (on S.C. pieces) are found more commonly at Nero's Gallic mint, are stylistically akin to his Roman mintages: yet about 403 *asses* (373 Roman) found in the region of Rome, and 429 more (389 Roman) found not far off in the region of Naples—not to speak of many dupondii found in the same areas—do not include a single one. Any part which they played in circulation must have been wholly insignificant.

There gradually developed, also, the custom of diversifying the normal denominations at Rome, &c., by pieces (bearing the letters S.C.) with exceptional types which were undoubtedly issued in very much more limited numbers than the ordinary coinage. This custom begins to show itself clearly under Galba, in whose reign appear two sorts of type which henceforward figure in this category: (i) compositions, many quite elaborate, expressing novel (and often never repeated) ideas or personifications—e.g. Galba's *SENATVS PIETATI AVGVSTI S.C.* and *HISPANIA CLVNIA SVL.S.C.*; (ii) unusual representations of buildings, e.g. Galba's arch with *QVADRAGENS. REMISSAE S.C.*, cf. *Vespasian's Temple of Isis*, *Titus' Colosseum*,

¹ *RIM* pp. 113 ff.; cf. pp. 100 ff.

² Cf. *SMACA* p. 102.

³ *BMCRE* i, p. 245, nos. 234–6; cf. p. 243, n.*.

⁴ For these, *ibid.*, p. 242, no. 221; *RIM* p. 111, fig. 42.

and an equally rare series in several metals under Domitian.¹ These pieces, too, played no material part in monetary circulation, and the message conveyed by their types can, at most, have reached a very restricted number of people, mostly at or near the place of mintage.

(ii) Some of the pieces described above as *Pre-Medallions* and *Sub-Medallions* may not have circulated as current coin at all. Certain further specimens certainly did not do so. This is true, for example, of gold medallions of Augustus, and the same probably applies to large silver pieces (of Roman style) of Domitian.² For a later period Professor J. M. C. Toynbee calls such gold and silver multiples *Money Medallions*, indicating that though they were 'potentially money', and could legally be used as money, they were presentation pieces, 'actually . . . treasured by their recipients'.³ We may think of Coronation Crowns as a possible analogy.

Other pieces which cannot have circulated are those familiar, but rare, specimens 'differentiated by abnormally large flans, or the use of two metals, or enclosure in rims or frames'. Professor Toynbee has entitled these *Pseudo-Medallions*.⁴

All the pieces mentioned hitherto have only been mentioned in order to clear them out of the way: their total effect on monetary circulation was infinitesimal. There remains the principal problem of classifying in some order of importance those official coinages which played a real part in the distribution of currency throughout the empire. In attempting their differentiation, perhaps the best criterion to employ is that of *extent* of circulation. From this point of view, official mintages may be roughly tabulated, in ascending order of significance, somewhat as follows:

- (i) Coins circulating in a single province only, or part of a single province (= 'provincial' coinage).⁵
- (ii) Coins circulating in groups of provinces, e.g. the whole of

¹ For these see *BMCRE* i, p. 359, no. 260a; p. 356, no. 252; p. 345, no. 205; and ii, p. 189, no. 780; p. 262, no. 190; p. 343, no. 229; pp. 346 ff., nos. 241 ff.; p. 407, nos. * and †.

² Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, pp. 45, n. 2; 114, n. 10; 127; 140; 206; 231, n. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 22 f.; *RIM* pp. 116 f. J. G. Milne, *JRS* 1945, p. 135, did not feel that they were even potentially coins.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff.

⁵ For some forerunners of these see *RIM* p. 87, cf. pp. 17 ff.

Gaul or the whole of the Balkans or the whole of Asia Minor.

- (III) Coins circulating in the whole of the West (including or excluding Italy) or the whole of the East (including or excluding Egypt).
- (IV) Coins circulating throughout the empire.

(I) *Coins circulating in a single province only, or part of a single province*

Circulation-evidence is usually inadequate, and it is rarely easy to tell whether a coinage circulated in a whole province or only in part of it. But the following rough division may be made:

(a) *A whole province.* A conspicuous example is the token billon coinage of Alexandria (1 drachm = $\frac{1}{4}$ denarius) and its bronze accompaniments. There is also, elsewhere, some provincial silver, of which the most important that can be attributed with some probability to this category belongs to the Phoenician standard inherited from the Seleucids (at this time 1 drachm = more than $\frac{3}{4}$ denarius; 1 drachm = 1 denarius temporarily under Gaius).¹ Issues on this standard at Antioch, &c., seem to have been principally intended for the vital province of Syria-Cilicia. The Flavian provinces of Cilicia, Cyprus, and Lycia-Pamphylia had similar coinages.

There are a great number of official provincial bronze issues during this whole period, using both Latin and Greek. Metrological standards are almost wholly unknown; all that is clear is that they vary enormously. Publication has been inadequate and has often fallen between the two stools of 'Roman' and 'Greek' coinage. I have recently summarized certain characteristic provincial coinages of Augustus, Tiberius, and Nero² and will not do so again here. But, in order to illustrate the sort of coinage and the sort of problem that appear, I am showing at Pl. IV, 3 a coin of Claudius that has not been discussed.³ Since its type of Britannicus, Octavia, and Claudius' other child Antonia is apparently borrowed from a silver didrachm of Caesarea in Cappadocia (II a), it may have circulated in Cappadocia and perhaps also over a somewhat ill-defined area of central

¹ *RIM* pp. 21 f.

² *FITA* pp. 119 ff.; *RIM* pp. 90 ff.; *NC* 1949, pp. 111 ff.

³ Berlin. Paris possesses a coin of uncertain mintage with heads of Messalina (CEBACTOY) and the elder Antonia.

Asia Minor: it is mentioned here, rather than with the silver in question,¹ since Caesarean *aes* circulated less widely than Caesarean silver.

Small Levantine *orichalcum* issues of Vespasian and Titus with S.C. and the *Judaea Capta* type² are followed by larger coins of Domitian, still in Latin but without S.C., showing types of Victory and a palm-tree (Pl. IV, 4).³ These may have circulated in and around Judaea. Their precise classification is impossible without further evidence. Since they often borrow imperial types, they perhaps belong to the category of 'secondary' official mintages, i.e. those which while preserving a measure of uniformity of type with major issues possess distinct features indicating a provincial mintage and more or less restricted purpose and circulation: certain Augustan coinages imitating the major AVGVSTVS and S.C. types fall into this 'secondary' category.⁴

(b) *Part of a province.* Coinages of this type are most easily identifiable in double provinces such as Crete-Cyrenaica, where at the beginning of the Principate the two halves of the province had separate bronze currencies.⁵ Crete then developed a silver coinage of its own,⁶ while retaining for a time its official bronze coinage. The British Museum has recently acquired unpublished examples of Nero, Titus, and Domitian.⁷ Their language is Greek. In the case of a *Latin* piece of Gaius and Agrippina sen., attributed by Svoronos to the same province,⁸ find-confirmation may perhaps be necessary. However, parallels to such linguistic transitions in a single provincial series could be quoted. Certain apparently official *aes* of Augustus current in the Cilician part of Syria-Cilicia⁹ used Latin (Pl. IV, 5), whereas an issue of Tiberius with the same type of a

¹ BMCRE i, p. 199, no. 242; Sydenham, *The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia*, p. 36, no. 63.

² BMCRE ii, p. 221, no. 894; p. 222, n. †; p. 279, no. 259. These are all placed in series to which they do not belong.

³ Paris: BMCRE ii, p. 411, no. [3].

⁴ SMACA pp. 132 ff. See below, pp. 107, 110 f.

⁵ FITA p. 138.

⁶ e.g. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, pl. xlix, no. 3.

⁷ G. K. Jenkins, NC 1949, pp. 37 f. Cf. Claudius, Cahn Sale, lxxi, 1931, no. 755.

⁸ Numismatique de la Crète Ancienne, no. 211. I have seen a specimen at Berlin.

⁹ SMACA p. 2, n. 1: cf. a smaller denomination, FITA p. 113 and n. 14 = pl. v, 3.

capricorn which may belong to the same area (Pl. IV, 6) has a Greek inscription.¹

The Moesian part of another joint province, Moesia-Macedonia, may have witnessed very rare sestertius-like issues with Latin inscriptions under Claudius,² perhaps comparable in scope with three pieces (lacking reverse types) struck on the Rhine (?) for Tiberius and Gaius.³ But both of these groups of issues may be quasi-medallic, like equally rare large-size pieces produced by proconsuls of Africa under Augustus and Tiberius.⁴ However, our impression of the extreme rarity of some of these issues may one day be modified when more local finds are recorded; and this applies even more to *aes* coins emanating from eastern areas of the empire, in which find-evidence is often almost totally deficient.

From about the time of Nero such coins tend increasingly to omit purely provincial types and inscriptions and assume a 'secondary' appearance, i.e. to show S.C. and types taken from major imperial coinages. Thus very rare *asses* of Nero of rough appearance,⁵ from some western frontier area, have familiar types borrowed from common *asses* of Augustus(?), Tiberius, and Gaius. Distinctive dupondii and *asses* (Pl. IV, 7) of Vespasian's reign⁶—the latter as well as the former, as the spectrograph interestingly shows, of *orichalcum*⁷—appear in finds in western Asia Minor. In style as well as shape, their portraits exactly resemble those of one of the silver issues of the same reign (some specimens have unidentifiable mint-mark O) which have independently been ascribed to the same area (Pl. IV, 8).⁸

It also seems possible that rare *aes* issues of Titus come from the

¹ Berlin (two specimens); cf. Lavy, *Catalogue of the Royal Collection at Turin*, i, p. 421, no. 4742; Boutkowski-Glinka, *Dict. Num.*, no. 2633. The inscriptions are [-----] AP? EEBAETOE and OEON AYTOKPATOPA. The obverse is akin to contemporary coins of Cilicia and northern Syria.

² Regling, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1924, col. 366, cf. *BMCRE* i, p. 195, n.*. See p. 100.

³ *RIM* pp. 106 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 93; cf. *RAI* pl. i, nos. 1, 2.

⁵ Sydenham, *The Coinage of Nero*, pp. 114 f.; *BMCRE* i, pl. 48, nos. 10 and 11 and p. 276, n.

⁶ *BMCRE* ii, p. 220, no. 893; p. 221, nos. † and *; but the series contains further types also. It is to be dissociated from the other mintages with which it is grouped there.

⁷ Spectrographic tests were kindly made for me by Dr. Moss and Dr. Barker of the British Museum Laboratory. Nero had also issued *asses* of *orichalcum* which I hope to study elsewhere.

⁸ British Museum; cf. *BMCRE* ii, pp. 100 ff., lxiv. For finds, *ibid.*, p. 220, no. 893 n., cf. *RSN* 1905, p. 178.

eastern borders of Gaul and Spain. For sestertii showing Britannicus (Pl. IV, 9)—which have been rightly ascribed to Titus' reign and compared with his restoration coinage¹—may have been found in some numbers on the south-western part of France's Mediterranean coast.² Here the evidence is so far lacking in certainty, but Dr. Martin Almagro has made the interesting suggestion (though it has inspired doubts) that a 'restoration' piece of Titus is overstruck on a piece of Emporiae,³ which is unlikely to have been accessible to moneyers as far afield as Rome.⁴ Be this as it may, it might eventually prove that such issues should be included in subsection (a) above or even in the section which follows.

(II) *Coins circulating in groups of provinces*

(a) The silver drachms and their multiples of Caesarea in Cappadocia, inaugurated by Tiberius and temporarily increased in weight by Claudius so that 1 drachm = 1 denarius.⁵ This series chiefly circulated in Asia Minor and its hinterland, outside the older parts of *provincia Asia*.

(b) Lighter tetradrachms, on the Asiatic (Cistophoric) standard inherited from the Attalids; from Claudius onwards (after a somewhat heavier start) 1 drachm = $\frac{3}{4}$ denarius.⁶ In this period the principal issue was of Augustus, and the next most abundant of Domitian. These circulated widely in western Asia Minor and other regions of the eastern Aegean.

(c) Perhaps certain rare denarii of Augustus, e.g. eastern variants of the capricorn type (Pl. IV, 10), represent another sort of rare piece which ought to be included here (unless, conceivably, some of them, notably the scarce subdivision with a star in the field, were issued by the client-kingdom of Pontus).⁷ Perhaps this category may also

¹ *BMCRE* ii, p. 293, no. 306; cf. p. lxxviii; *RAI* pp. 92 f.

² I learn this from verbal reports. One of the pieces is now in the Paris collection. Evidence from Thrace (*BMCRE* i, p. 196, n.) and north Italy is conflicting. A specimen I have seen in trade at Sofia seems dubious.

³ *Ampurias*, ix/x. 1947-8, p. 322.

⁴ I saw none among very extensive finds in the Roman stretch of the Tiber.

⁵ Sydenham, *The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia*; cf. *RIM* pp. 21 f.

⁶ *RIM* p. 22.

⁷ For one of the variants without star see *RIM* p. 72, fig. 28. For the pieces with star, Laffranchi, *RIN* 1918, p. 181; *SMACA* pp. 69 f., n. 6; Gabrici, *Acta Divi Augusti*, i, pl. xii, 114. See above, p. 98, n. 3, for coins of imperial type issued by client monarchs.

include a very unusual, but ancient, eastern denarius of Gaius or Claudius with Antonia as SACERDOS DIVI AVGVSTI.¹ In practice, too, many of the emergency issues of A.D. 68–70 did not circulate beyond a more or less restricted group of neighbouring provinces.²

(d) Various *aes* coinages. Quadrantes (*orichalcum*) of Augustus in Gaul, with types of bull and eagle imitated from gold and silver.³ More extensive issues of bronze semisses(?) and quadrantes of Augustus and Tiberius, with type of colonists ploughing, circulated throughout Asia Minor and neighbouring lands.⁴ Larger bronze coins issued by Tiberius in the Levant (*caduceus* and *cornucopiae*, Pl. IV, 11) again circulated much more extensively than has been supposed, in the area of origin and to the north-west, north, and east of it.⁵

A fairly varied group of *orichalcum*, and a few copper coins—all with S.C.—of Titus, and of Domitian's first year (Pl. IV, 12),⁶ has been wrongly included among Gallic coinage (Pl. IV, 13),⁷ and should be reattributed to the region of the Sea of Marmora, possibly to a Bithynian mint. Perhaps certain rare Western *aes* of the Flavians may also be included in the present category.⁸

(e) The great eastern *aes* coinages of Augustus with C.A., AVGVSTVS, and S.C. seem to have been issued by important 'branch' mints in provinces other than the province in which their main mint was situated (as well as by less important 'secondary' mints in the provinces of main and 'branch' mints alike).⁹ These 'branch' mints often served considerable areas in the east. Possibly a similar formula may prove applicable to later *aes* issues also, and conceivably to major gold and silver coinages as well.¹⁰

¹ Vienna; NZ 1921, p. 151 (pl. vii, 5); Muensterberg, NZ 1925, p. 33.

² Cf. A. R. Bellinger's reminder of the *de facto* limits of circulation of denarii, RIM p. 276, n. 19.

³ BMCRE i, p. 93, nos. 561, 564; RIM pp. 80 f.

⁴ SMACA pp. 15 f.

⁵ RAI p. 57 and n. 9.

⁶ BMCRE ii, p. 294, nos. 308 ff.; p. 295, no. 314; p. 418, nos. 513 ff., &c.

⁷ Ibid., p. 201, no. 811, &c., cf. C. M. Kraay, *Schweizer Münzblätter*, 1952, p. 55.

⁸ It has been suggested to me that for the former group there are Bithynian type-analogies and I hope that a demonstration of this will be published. Dr. H. A. Cahn states that he has seen two specimens of Pl. IV, 12 in trade in two different shops at Istanbul (Cf. Kraay, *Numismatic Circular*, 1954, col. 493)—where *aes* with S.C. (other than eastern) is very rarely to be found. For the western group cf. Kraay, *Schweizer Münzblätter*, 1954, pp. 5 ff.

⁹ SMACA p. 114.

¹⁰ RIM p. 78.

(III) *Coins circulating in the whole of the West (including or excluding Italy) or the whole of the East (including or excluding Egypt)*

(A) *West*

(a) Perhaps some of the less important silver coinages, e.g. that of Augustus at Emerita and certain Civil War issues, may be included *de facto* in this category. They reached Italy, but I doubt if they reached the East in important numbers.

(b) The major *orichalcum* and copper coinage with S.C. Its Augustan issues at Rome (and at first—in my opinion—other Italian mints) circulated throughout the West, including the Illyrian provinces.¹ So did those of subsequent emperors issued at various mints. Certain copper *asses* so greatly outdo the rest of this coinage in frequency that they deserve either inclusion in a separate category or at least special mention:

(i) Tiberius: with head of Divus Augustus and altar inscribed PROVIDENT S.C. (Pl. V, 6).² Issued at one—probably more than one—Gallic or German mint as well as at Rome, where at least 420 examples have been found in the Tiber alone.³ Up to 1935, 300 specimens had been found at Windisch (Vindonissa);⁴ now the number is no doubt much greater. Issues with this type greatly exceeded all contemporary *aes* coinages in bulk. Barbarous imitations, too, are common. Pl. V, 7 shows an effort from the upper Danube.⁵

(ii) Gaius, Claudius (?) and perhaps Nero: with head of Agrippa and figure of Neptune inscribed S.C. (Pl. V, 8).⁶ Of more than one mint;⁷ first issued under Gaius.⁸ Again exceedingly common, though less so than the foregoing: 270 from Rome (Tiber),⁹ 125 from Windisch (up to 1935). High figures again occur in every other region of the western and central empire, e.g. many from Illyricum and lower Pannonia.

(iii) Claudius: type of Minerva (Athena Alkidemos) inscribed S.C.¹⁰ Enormously abundant. Out of 3,806 *aes* coins of Claudius

¹ I have seen very many at Zagreb Museum.

² *BMCRE* i, p. 141, no. 146.

³ Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome.

⁵ Vienna.

⁷ *SMACA* p. 143.

⁹ Cesano, *Atti e Memorie dell' Ist. Ital. di Num.* vi, 1930, p. 129, n. 1.

¹⁰ *BMCRE* i, p. 185, no. 149.

⁴ Kraay, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁶ *BMCRE* i, p. 142, no. 161.

⁸ *NC* 1948, p. 126.

found at Mayenne, 1,722 were of this one type;¹ nearly 200 come from Rome (Tiber); and there is a corresponding abundance elsewhere. In the provinces at least a high proportion of finds consists of pieces of 'secondary' mintage (Pl. V, 9) or unofficial imitations.² This was much the largest of several large copper coinages of Claudius. It is found extensively in Spain, where it replaced the recently abolished local bronze coinages.³

(iv) Nero: type of Victory holding shield inscribed S.P.Q.R.; in field S.C. (Pl. V, 10).⁴ Nero's western *orichalcum* and copper with S.C. were issued at two great mints, Rome and a city usually identified with Lugdunum. From both these mints the *asses* with Victory were issued in overwhelmingly greater numbers than any of the other four types—indeed in greater numbers than all of them together. Out of 1,972 finds of recorded types, no less than 1,408 are of this one variety—545 out of 825 from the Roman mint, 863 out of 1,147 from the mint ascribed to Lugdunum.⁵ The areas of circulation of Nero's two *aes* mints overlapped but each also had areas which it more or less exclusively served.

The activity of the mint ascribed to Lugdunum continued in the earlier part of the Flavian period (Pl. IV, 12) but then either ceased or, owing to the suppression of stylistic differentiae, became unrecognizable.⁶

(c) The major copper coinage (*orichalcum* is much rarer) issued at Lugdunum with ROM. ET AVG. (no. S.C.) and altar.⁷ This is a primary official series of the Roman state even if (as is unknown) the *Commune Galliarum* had some real or honorific part in it.⁸ Much the greater part belongs to the reign of Augustus, unless the abundant issue in the name of Tiberius with IMP.VII (calling him CAESAR but not AVGVSTVS) continued into the latter's reign.⁹ At Mayenne 2,323 pieces thus inscribed were found (earlier Augustan issues are represented in smaller quantities).¹⁰

¹ Chedreau and de Sarcus, *Bull. de la Soc. d'Arch., Sc., Arts et Belles Lettres de la Mayenne*, 1865, pp. 31 f. I owe this reference and a sight of the publication to Dr. C. M. Kraay.

² *SMACA* pp. 143 f.

³ NC 1949, p. 105.

⁴ *BMCRE* i, p. 246, nos. 240 ff., and p. 274, no. 378.

⁵ I hope to publish these and cognate statistics in detail elsewhere.

⁶ For this difficulty cf. *SMACA* p. 145, n. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 12 f., &c.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 51 ff.

⁹ As suggested by Kraay, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹⁰ Chedreau and de Sarcus, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 f.

(d) The bronze coinage with heads of Augustus and Agrippa and COL.NEM. (crocodile).¹ Despite its mint-mark of the colony of Nemausus, this is agreed to have played a major part in the token currency of the western provinces, in which its circulation was enormous. To some extent, at least in respect of its largest issues, this coinage must have been officially inspired: its juridical position—or rather the varying juridical positions of successive issues—has been discussed elsewhere.² (In my opinion extensive mintages with these types were not restricted to Augustus, but occurred under Claudius and Nero also.)³

(B) *East*

(a) Perhaps some at least of Vespasian's aurei and denarii with eastern mint-marks (Pl. V, 8), and corresponding pieces without such marks (Pl. IV, 8), may be included here; but this is tentative since I have not investigated the pattern of their finds.

(b) The major coinage with S.C. in wreath, of all emperors in this period except Gaius and Vitellius.⁴ Practically nothing is known of the metrological relation of this series to the various standards in force.⁵ The coins are all of bronze, except under Vespasian when—as the spectrograph demonstrates—the bronze coinage (Pl. V, 2)⁶ was for a time supplemented by *orichalcum* (Pl. V, 3).⁷ The letters S.C. refer to the Roman senate,⁸ although the more important mints (but not the only ones, cf. pp. 104, 107 above) were in the 'imperial' province of Syria. The principal (and, at most times from Claudius onwards, sole) Syrian mint was Antioch,⁹ of which Pl. V, 4—*orichalcum* of Vespasian¹⁰—bears the mint-mark (not ethnic).¹¹

¹ *SMACA* pp. 10 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 54 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 11, &c.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 7 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8 and n. 4.

⁶ Wruck, *Die Syrische Provinzialprägung*, p. 188, no. 95, &c.

⁷ *BMCRE* ii, p. 221, no. 894; cf. p. 217, no. 879, p. 218, no. 884, &c.—grouped there with pieces from other mints; reattributed to Antioch by Wruck, *op. cit.*, p. 188, nos. 97, 102, 103; p. 189, no. 112, &c.

⁸ *FITA* pp. 97, 101.

⁹ *SMACA* p. 125.

¹⁰ Wruck, *op. cit.*, p. 188, no. 98; cf. no. 104; p. 190, no. 113. Metal tested by spectrograph.

¹¹ For the difference in significance between city-names on official issues and on local issues, cf. *FITA* p. 1, n. 1; *SMACA* pp. 54 ff. Probably it would be better to reserve the term *mint-mark* for official and *ethnic* for local coinage.

The extent and scope of the circulation of this series have been under-estimated, owing to the scarcity of our information about eastern finds. In certain reigns mintage was multiplied to very large dimensions. This particularly occurred in the early third century¹ (when, on occasion, several mints operated).² But in the first century, too, the issues of Claudius³ are extensive enough to deserve special mention. Out of 205 Julio-Claudian coins of the series found at Dura-Europos in Mesopotamia no less than 163 are of Claudius.⁴

(c) The major but short-lived coinages of Augustus in *orichalcum*, copper and bronze with C.A. and AVGVSTVS in wreath. Centred on *provincia* Asia, this seems to reveal 'branch' mints in Greece and Syria (the bronze are mostly from there), and 'secondary' mints in Asia (Ionia and Phrygia), Syria and Cyprus (bronze), and perhaps Cilicia.⁵

(d) Dupondii (*orichalcum*) of Vespasian with *caduceus* and *cornucopiae* (without S.C.) (Pl. V, 5).⁶ The type is imitated from bronze coins of Tiberius (see p. 107), but the scope of Vespasian's issue is larger. Like its forerunner, it was not necessarily issued, as has been supposed, in Commagene.⁷ Unlike its forerunner, it is stylistically indistinguishable from Roman issues:⁸ so it may have been struck at Rome for the provinces rather than struck in the provinces—or alternatively it may have been struck in the provinces from dies made in Rome, a phenomenon which has again been tentatively recognized in respect of *aes* of the second and third centuries A.D.⁹

(IV) Coins circulating throughout the empire

A very large proportion of the aurei and denarii of the period can be found in all parts of the empire (except, in the case of denarii, in Egypt). Certain mints, however, seem to have issued denarii on too

¹ e.g. 256 of Elagabalus found at Antioch, D. B. Waagé, *Antioch on the Orontes*, iv, part 2, p. 54. Cf. *RIM* p. 70; NC 1950, pp. 160 f.

² *FITA* p. 446 and n. 6; cf. A. R. Bellinger, *Numismatic Studies*, no. 3, 1940.

³ Wruck, *op. cit.*, p. 180, no. 26, &c.

⁴ Bellinger, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report*, vi, p. 74. This picture of commonness is not contradicted by the relatively small numbers identified at Antioch (12 out of 68), since 112 of the same period are too worn for attribution to a reign: Waagé, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-37.

⁵ *SMACA* pp. 8 ff., 111 ff., 132 ff.

⁶ *BMCRE* ii, p. 219, no. 886, &c. ⁷ *RAI* pp. 57 f.; NC 1949, p. 241 and n. 12.

⁸ Cf. Mattingly, *BMCRE* ii, p. lxxviii; he adds a reservation, however, concerning fabric.

⁹ Mattingly, *BMCRE* iv, p. xviii. Sutherland, NC 1952, p. 145, *JRS* 1953, pp. 200 f., concedes a similar possibility for Lugdunum in the early Principate.

limited a scale for empire-wide circulation to have, in practice, occurred (e.g. pp. 106 f., 108). A distinction must be drawn between *de jure* eligibility for empire-wide circulation—which no doubt all aurei and denarii (when their issuer was master of the whole empire) possessed—and *de facto* empire-wide circulation, which cannot always be demonstrated and (in the case of small mintages) is not always likely.¹

Two series of aurei and denarii which enjoyed an especially vast distribution—comprising *inter alia* an extensive circulation in south Russia and south India²—are those of Augustus with the figures of his grandsons (C. L. CAESARES, Pl. V, 12–14)³ and of Tiberius with a seated figure inscribed PONTIF. MAXIM. (Pl. V, 15).⁴ Both series were issued over a number of years and, in my opinion, at more than the single mint of Lugdunum to which they have been exclusively attributed.⁵

That, then, is how the complex picture of early imperial coinage looks to me—in its outlines, for much has been omitted and what has been included has been only briefly stated. My principal aim has been to suggest that there is a very great difference, as an object of historical significance, between an issue now extant in one specimen only and an issue of which tens or even hundreds of thousands are still to be seen. For the ratio between the two contrasting figures cannot for our purposes have been so crucially different when they were struck. So it may be concluded that the former issue played little or no part in the economy or publicity of its epoch, while the latter is as significant a piece of evidence as the economic or political historian could require.

For the fact that such evidence is now easily accessible and visible the man whom historians, like numismatists, have to thank is Harold Mattingly.

¹ Cf. above, p. 97, n. 2.

² *RIM* p. 78.

³ *BMCRE* i, p. 89, no. 519, &c.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125, no. 42, &c.

⁵ *RIM* pp. 78, 133. Pl. II, no. 14 (here) has a portrait and style which may belong to Spanish mintage, *SMACA* p. 162.

VII

THE BEHAVIOUR OF EARLY IMPERIAL COUNTERMARKS¹

By C. M. KRAAY

THOSE countermarks which so often disfigure the bronze coins of the early empire did not fail to intrigue Harold Mattingly, and the study of them has been given a firm foundation by the rich material, systematically arranged, which he included in vol. i of *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*. The following pages are offered to the criticism of one who has shattered so many obstacles in the way of a fuller knowledge of Roman coinage.

Conjectures upon the date and purpose of countermarks have been many and varied; to prolong the life of worn coins, to extend a restricted area of circulation, to meet some warlike emergency when normal supplies were interrupted, to proclaim revolt or to protest against the established government, to honour dead emperors or to complete the titulatures of living ones—all these theories, and more, have been championed, and the truth must surely lie somewhere among them. Yet despite all the 'contributions to the theory of countermarks' scattered through the pages of the numismatic journals of the last 100 years, progress has, until recently, been slow. Most students, understandably, and with infinite resource, have attacked the

¹ Apart from the general list of abbreviations on pp. xiii f. the following are specially used for this chapter only: Daniëls = M. Daniëls, *Romeins Nijmegen III: 'De antieke munten der Nijmeegse verzamelingen'*, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, xxxi (1950), pp. 1 ff.; Grünwald = M. Grünwald, *Die römischen Bronze- und Kupfermünzen mit Schlagmarken im Legionslager Vindonissa* (Basel, 1946); Kraft = K. Kraft, 'Zu den Schlagmarken des Tiberius und Germanicus', *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, 2 (1950-1), pp. 21 ff.; Lehner = H. Lehner, 'Die Einzelfunde von Novaesium', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 111-12 (1904), pp. 246 ff.; Ritterling I = E. Ritterling, 'Das frühromische Lager bei Hofheim im Taunus', *Annalen des Vereins für nassauische Altertumskunde*, xxxiv, pp. 1 ff.; Ritterling II = E. Ritterling, same title and journal, xl, pp. 1 ff.; Strack = M. L. Strack, 'Der Münzfund auf den Seltschen Ziegeleien bei Neuss', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 111-12 (1904), pp. 419 ff.

ultimate question of the occasion and purpose of countermarks, to the neglect of a systematic analysis of their behaviour which would serve to limit the range of speculation. The intention of this paper is, therefore, to examine the behaviour of some of the commoner countermarks, and not to champion any new or old theory about their purpose; some comment, however, on the compatibility of certain recent views with the evidence provided by behaviour will be inevitable.

Countermarks provide evidence about themselves in four different ways:

1. *Relation of countermarks to coins.* The recording of the varieties of coins on which different countermarks occur has been the traditional method of research, which found its fullest expression in the rich material published in *BMCRE* i.¹ The importance of this method is obvious, for a countermark cannot have gone out of use earlier than the date of the latest coin to bear it. There is, however, one possible pitfall here which has to be avoided. It is in the nature of countermarks that their application is selective, that a particular issue or kind of coin is chosen for marking, and that, therefore, the date of a countermark may be considerably later than the date of the last coin bearing it. For example, the monogram *Caesar* nearly always occurs on the *asses* of the Roman moneyers of Augustus, the last of whom may have minted about 3 B.C.² This, at first sight, might seem to be the approximate date of the countermark, but since occasionally the same countermark is found on later coins, or stamped over later countermarks, the actual date of application must be postponed at least twenty years.³

2. *Relation of countermarks to other countermarks.* Coins often bear two or more countermarks disposed on one or both faces, and the evidence of overlapping or partial obliteration (if the countermarks are on both sides of the coin) is often sufficient to determine the order in which they were affixed (Pl. VI, 2-3). A countermark which is always stamped on top of some other must be the later, while two countermarks which may be found either over or under each other should be contemporary. The importance of this information is vital,

¹ pp. xxviii ff.

² Kraft, *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, 1951-2, p. 29.

³ See below, p. 118.

yet of all the coins with multiple countermarks recorded before the appearance of Grünwald's work in 1946 (of which more will be said below) in one case only has the sequence of the countermarks been observed.¹

3. *Geographical distribution.* As this paper is largely concerned with this matter, little need be said here. Hitherto progress has been confined to the observation that countermarked coins are most frequent in the frontier areas,² and to the recognition that there is some promise in this line of inquiry.³

4. *Epigraphical content.* Some attempt has been made to attach chronological importance to the graphic forms of countermarks.⁴ This has proved unsuccessful, because such variation, like the quality of a die, is dependent on the ability of the artisan.⁵ Far more important is the principle that countermarks of essentially different forms, even though they contain the same verbal formulae, should be treated as distinct, e.g. IMP and MP, TIB·IM and TIB·IMP, (TIB) and [TIB], since otherwise differences in chronological and geographical distribution may be obscured.⁶

Before 1946 the relation of the countermark to the coin had alone been the subject of close study, but in that year the numismatic world was startled by the publication of Grünwald's study of the rich series of countermarks found in the legionary camp of Vindonissa in Switzerland. Grünwald observed a crucial fact and attempted to explain it. He noticed that whenever the sequence of the three commonest 'Tiberius' stamps ((TIB), TIB·IM, TIB·AVG) and IMP·AVG could be determined, the latter was *always* later than the three former (Pl. VI, 3); the seventy-eight specimens from Vindonissa and many more elsewhere are amply sufficient to eliminate the working of chance. This posed a problem, for, if TIB indicates Tiberius and IMP·AVG Augustus, and if these stamps were affixed on the orders,

¹ Lehner, p. 261, no. 7886, 3.

² BMCRE i, pp. xix f.

³ Meyer, RSN 1947, p. 51; SMACA p. 28, n. 2.

⁴ Grünwald, pp. 66 ff., criticized by Kraft, *Germania* 1952, pp. 223 ff.

⁵ Grünwald, p. 129, nos. 27-43, shows the stamps TIB·AVG and IMP·AVG executed with very varied degrees of skill.

⁶ In SMACA on pp. 27 ff. the form TIB·IM[P] is used as though TIB·IM and TIB·IMP were certainly only variants (see p. 134, n. 4, below). Likewise on p. 38 all forms of *imperator* are treated together as post-Augustan.

or in the interests, of these personages, then their historical order was apparently reversed: countermarks of Tiberius superimposed on those of Augustus would have been more immediately intelligible, even though their precise purpose might remain elusive. This group of countermarks is found most commonly upon the moneyers' *asses* of Augustus, and, within this series, particularly on the *asses* of one of the latest *collegia*, that of Agrippa, Otho, and Tullus. This college has been variously dated,¹ and Grünwald found in the date 7 B.C., proposed in *BMCRE* i, the answer to his problem. For he observed that some of the coins countermarked were surprisingly fresh—though his *stempelfrisch* is perhaps an exaggeration—and deduced therefrom that the countermarking followed soon after the supposed date of issue in 7 B.C.; the next year, 6 B.C., was the date of that crisis in the imperial family as a result of which Tiberius resigned his commands and retired into private life to Rhodes. Here then, Grünwald argued, was the occasion of the countermarks: a high officer, perhaps at Vindonissa, stamped the name of Tiberius upon the coinage of Augustus, as a declaration of support for the former, and of protest or revolt against the latter. This insubordination was quickly suppressed and the authority of Augustus was restored by stamping *IMP·A/G* upon the desecrated coinage.

This remarkable theory has been subjected to strong criticism on a great variety of grounds, and there is no need to repeat them here;² only the numismatic objections require some comment. Grünwald's observation of the facts was correct, and his recording of the sequence of countermarks was an important advance in method, but his explanation did not explain. The countermarks which he attributed to 6 B.C. are found, with identical superimpositions, on very many coins which are certainly much later. One example, the latest, will suffice: it is from Vindonissa and is an *as* of Tiberius bearing the tribunician date A.D. 22³ with *IMP·A/G* neatly overlapping *TIB·A/G* on the obverse. The coin is worn, but its identification is certain.⁴

¹ 12 B.C., Pink, *NZ* 1946, pp. 113 ff.; 7 B.C., *BMCRE* i, p. xcvi; c. 3 B.C., Kraft, *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, 1951-2, pp. 28 ff.

² Cahn, *Jahrbuch der Schw. Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte*, 37 (1946), p. 130; Meyer, *RSN* 1947, p. 49; Kraft, *Germania* 1952, p. 223.

³ *RIC* Tib. 18.

⁴ The coin is not included by Grünwald. Kraft, p. 30, n. 7, quotes from Kress Cat. 93, no. 780, another example of *RIC* Tib. 18 with *IMP·A/G* on *TIB·IM*.

Clearly the phenomenon observed by Grünwald belongs to a date much later than 6 B.C. At this point we may turn to the next major recent contribution to the literature of countermarks.

Professor Grant in his book *The Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus* devotes two sections to countermarks appearing on Augustan coins.¹ He is mainly concerned to prove that the complex of countermarks attributed by Grünwald to 6 B.C. is in fact post-Augustan and, therefore, outside the scope of his study; this he does with complete success by insisting that full weight as a *terminus post quem* for the date of a countermark must be given to the latest coins bearing it.² His further conclusions, however, are less secure, when he goes on to say (p. 38): 'Moreover, there is reason to suppose that other countermarks, IMP. (or $\overline{\text{IMP}}$. or $\overline{\text{IMP}}$.) and AVG. or $\overline{\text{AVG}}$., though they likewise may refer to Augustus, are likewise post-Augustan.' So far as this is a statement that some countermarks consisting of abbreviations of the words *imperator* and *Augustus* are found on post-Augustan coins, and are therefore post-Augustan themselves, it is unexceptionable; some instances will be discussed later. If, however, as appears to be the case from the varieties included in the passage quoted, the claim is that all such countermarks are post-Augustan, then it is open to serious question.

Excavations at Haltern and Oberaden, two forts east of the Rhine connected with Drusus' advance to the Elbe in the years following 13 B.C., have yielded numerous coins. Oberaden was soon abandoned, for its latest coin is a denarius of Augustus from Lugdunum dated IMP X (14-12 B.C.); *asses* of the first Altar series of Lugdunum are wholly absent.³ There is one coin countermarked IMP, which should, therefore, have been affixed well within the reign of Augustus, though it implies that the practice of countermarking was not widespread early in the last decade B.C.

From Haltern, which was occupied until early in the reign of Tiberius, have come many more countermarks (including IMP and AVG) which must have been affixed during the reign of Augustus.⁴ Evidently, too, most of the coins countermarked IMP and AVG at

¹ pp. 21 ff. and 34 ff.

² Views already expressed in *FITA* p. 94 are here reiterated with further evidence.

³ Albrecht, *Das Römerlager in Oberaden*, pp. 25 ff.

⁴ For terminal date of Haltern and summary of countermarks see Kraft, pp. 28 f.

Oberhausen and Neuss Sels were so marked in the reign of Augustus, although these sites continued to be occupied for a time after his death.¹

The third important study is that of Dr. K. Kraft, 'Zu den Schlagmarken des Tiberius und Germanicus'.² He too starts from Grünwald's position and demolishes it with the evidence of site finds. His three main conclusions concerning countermarks are:

1. (TIB), TIB-IM, TIB-~~AVG~~ are early Tiberian, up to A.D. 22-23, the date of the latest coins on which they are found.
2. The monogram *Caesar* is of approximately the same date and refers to Germanicus, who was active in Lower Germany A.D. 14-16.
3. IMP-~~AVG~~ is later than these four, but still Tiberian in date.

Thus the conclusions of Kraft supplement those of Grant, and there can be no doubt that chronologically they admit of little dispute. However, there are aspects other than chronology to be considered.

(Pl. VI, 2)

(a) *The coins.* This very common monogram exists in a number of minor variations³ and can represent nothing but the word *Caesar*. It is found almost exclusively on *asses* of the moneyers of Augustus, apart from one instance on the second Altar series of Lugdunum⁴ and a few on other still later coins as follows:

1. Augustus, *RIC* 219; A.D. 11-12; Neuss Sels.⁵
2. Unorthodox hybrid; later than A.D. 15-16; Neuss Lager.⁶
Obv. DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER Hd. l. rad.
Rev. 'Livia' seated r. TRIBVNIC POTESTXVII·POTESTXVII (*sic*) SC.
3. Divus Augustus: *rev.* PROVIDENT, c. A.D. 22-30(?), (a) Bonn, (b) Nijmegen.⁷

¹ Oberhausen, Kraft, pp. 26 f.; Neuss Sels, Strack, pp. 419 ff.

² Here quoted as 'Kraft'.

³ A variant CAES occurs rarely, see Kraft, p. 21.

⁴ Daniëls, p. 28.

⁵ Strack, p. 448.

⁶ Lehner, p. 257, no. 8315; apparently reverse only (illustrated in *SMACA* pl. xx. 8) is legible. Two further specimens from Vindonissa with same reverse die both have identical obverse die as described in text.

⁷ Daniëls, p. 28. The date is that proposed by Sutherland in *NC* 1941, p. 114.

(b) *Other countermarks* are found very rarely on the same coin as *Caesar*. The significant examples are:

1. Augustus, uncertain moneyer, TIB·IM on *Caesar*.¹
2. Augustus, RIC 78 (Asinius Gallus), *Caesar* on TIB·IM.²
3. Augustus, RIC 192 (Maecilius Tullus), *Caesar* on TIB³ (Pl. VI, 2).
4. Augustus, uncertain moneyer, IMP·AVG on TIB·IM; the temporal relation of *Caesar* to these two cannot be determined.⁴

The evidence of nos. 1 and 2 is sufficient to show that *Caesar* is contemporary with TIB·IM, which is, in turn, contemporary with (TIB) and TIB·AVG (see below); all four are thus early Tiberian. At the same time the rarity with which *Caesar* is combined with the other countermarks implies the operation of some factor which normally kept them apart.

(c) *Geographical distribution*. The evidence is drawn from five sites well spaced out along the whole Rhine frontier. Of these Neuss Lager and Hofheim were not occupied until about A.D. 40, by which time the amount of Augustan currency in circulation may have been on the decline. However, since there seems to have been little movement of bronze currency from area to area (as will appear below), the percentages are probably significant, and that for Neuss Lager is confirmed by the more copious finds from the earlier site at Neuss Sels.

	Total finds of Augustan moneyers' asses	Number countermarked <i>Caesar</i>	Percentage countermarked <i>Caesar</i>
Nijmegen ⁵	125	64	50
Neuss Sels ⁶	129	37	29
Neuss Lager ⁷	26	8	30
Hofheim ⁸	32	5	15
Vindonissa ⁹	945	20	2

The conclusion is clear enough; the countermark was applied in Lower Germany and becomes progressively rarer farther south.

Thus the monogram 'Caesar' was stamped on *asses* of the Roman mint in the early part of the reign of Tiberius in Lower Germany.

¹ Grünwald, p. 137.

³ Oxford.

⁶ Strack, pp. 447 ff.

⁸ Ritterling, I, p. 24 and II, pp. 100 ff.

² Munich, see Kraft, p. 30 and pl. ii, 16.

⁴ Oxford.

⁵ Daniels, pp. 19 f.

⁷ Lehner, pp. 254 ff.

⁹ Grünwald, pp. 16 and 114 f.

Mattingly long ago suggested that Germanicus was here named¹ and Kraft has recently supported this with the new evidence for date at his disposal.² The hypothesis is certainly attractive; Lower Ger-

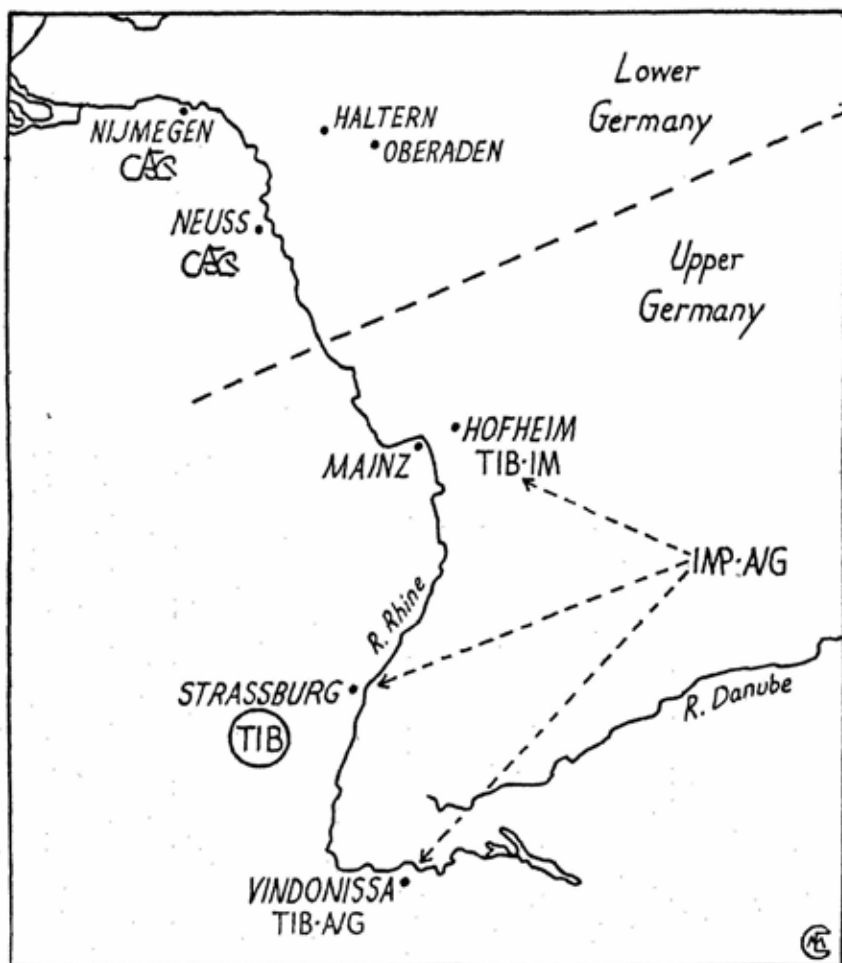


FIG. 5. Distribution of Tiberian countermarks.

many was the province of Germanicus from A.D. 14 to 16 and the base of his vigorous but costly expeditions across the Rhine. Tacitus even describes a possible occasion for countermarking, for, in the mutinies which followed the death of Augustus, the mutineers were so insistent upon immediate payment of the bequests of Augustus that

¹ *BMCRE* i, p. xxix.

² Kraft, p. 30.

Germanicus was forced to draw upon his own resources to quieten them;¹ a personal payment of this kind *might* be an appropriate occasion for a countermark. Yet there are difficulties; the latest datable

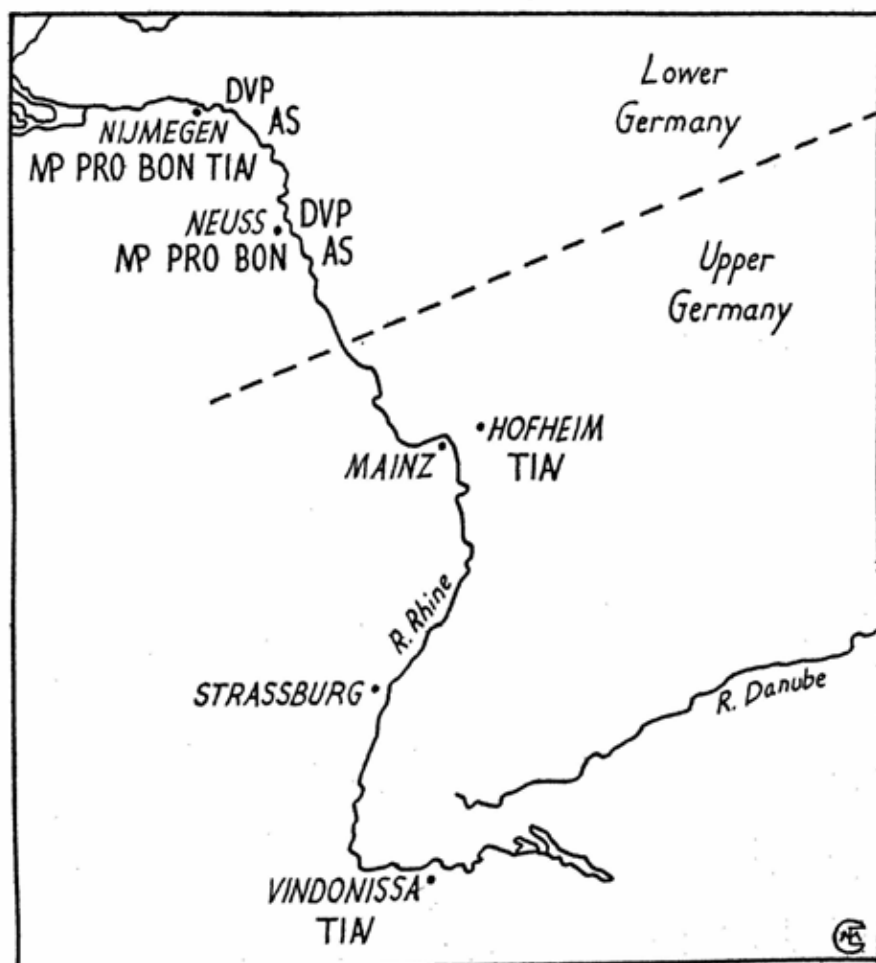


FIG. 6. Distribution of post-Tiberian countermarks.

coin bearing the countermark is a hybrid imitation of an *as* minted in Rome which could well be dated some years later than its prototype (A.D. 15–16). The two *PROVIDENT asses* cannot be precisely dated; Sutherland has proposed for the beginning of the issue a date *c.* A.D. 22–24 (by which time Germanicus had been dead some years),

¹ *Ann.* i. 37.

although his conclusions do not absolutely rule out the possibility of an earlier issue.¹ Moreover, the fact that *Caesar* can be stamped over TIB·IM, which itself can be found on a coin dated A.D. 22 (see below), suggests that it may not be possible to date the former as early in the reign of Tiberius as the attribution to Germanicus requires.²

Perhaps the introduction of Germanicus is an unnecessary complication. Cannot *Caesar* be Tiberius himself? The personage named in many other countermarks, such as the various forms of *imperator* or *Augustus*, is no longer self-evident, although, at the time, it could not have been in doubt. Velleius, writing just at this time, calls Tiberius as emperor simply *Caesar*,³ and in contemporary phrases such as *candidati Caesaris* or *quaestor Caesaris* the word is little more than a title meaning emperor. Moreover, the 'Tiberius' stamps, contemporary but geographically distinct (see below), favour the supposition that *Caesar* is equivalent to them in meaning. The result of this discussion is that, while the attribution to Germanicus cannot be definitely disproved, the interpretation of *Caesar* as Tiberius is the more economical hypothesis.

(TIB), TIB·IM, TIB·AG (Pl. VI, 1-3)

(a) *The coins*

These three countermarks differ from *Caesar* in that they occur both on the issues of the moneyers of Augustus and, though less commonly, on the Altar coins of Lugdunum.⁴ In addition to these two main series, there are, as with *Caesar*, a few later coins which bring the terminal date down to A.D. 22-23.

1. (TIB): Drusus Junior, *RIC Tib.* 26; A.D. 22; Vindonissa.⁵

2. TIB·IM: Tiberius, *RIC* 18; A.D. 22-23.⁶

3. TIB·AG: Tiberius, *RIC* 18; A.D. 22-23; Vindonissa.⁷

¹ NC 1941, p. III.

² This hypothesis requires TIB·IM to have been in use at least from A.D. 16, at the end of which year Germanicus returned to Rome, until at least A.D. 22-23, the date of the latest coin on which it appears.

³ e.g. ii. 124. 2; 126. 1.

⁴ Grünwald, p. 124 for figures at Vindonissa.

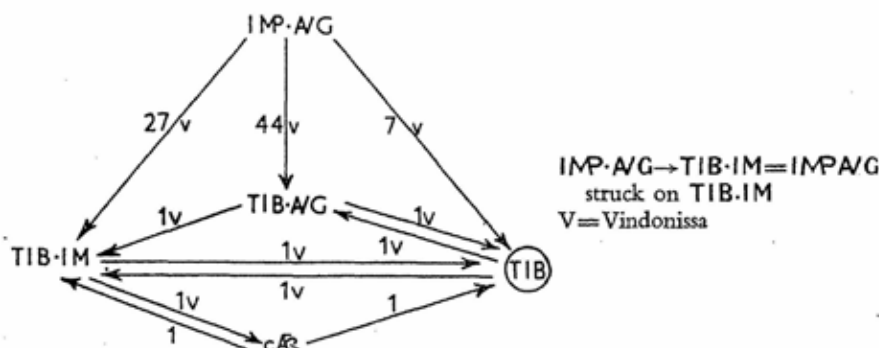
⁶ See p. 116, n. 4, above.

⁵ Grünwald, p. 141, no. 16.

⁷ See p. 116 above.

(b) *The countermarks*

The interrelations can be best expressed in the form of a diagram summarizing examples on which the sequence of the countermarks can be *certainly* determined.¹



Since the relative positions of the four stamps under discussion are interchangeable, these stamps must have been in contemporary use. The rarity with which any two are found on a single coin implies either geographical separation (certainly the case with *Caesar*) or simultaneous application within a restricted area by three organizations (e.g. civil communities or military headquarters) which normally avoided duplicating each other's countermarks.

(c) *Geographical distribution*

Despite the absence of the detailed statistics that were available for *Caesar*, one fact stands out, that the 'Tiberius' stamps are virtually confined to the southern sector; Vindonissa and Nijmegen yield significant figures for incidence on moneyers' *asses*.²

	TIB·A/G	TIB·IM	(TIB)
Vindonissa			
945 moneyers' <i>aes</i>	215 = 23%	140 = 14%	71 = 7%
Nijmegen			
125 moneyers' <i>aes</i>	3 = 2.4%	2 = 1.6%	0

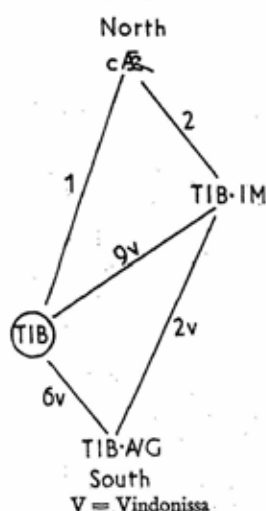
Since Neuss (where *Caesar* is frequent) has yielded no examples of

¹ For Vindonissa see Grünwald, pp. 135 ff.; *Caesar* on (TIB), Oxford; *Caesar* on TIB·IM, Munich, Kraft, p. 30.

² Examples on Altar coins are too few to yield usable figures.

the Tiberius countermarks, the northern limit of their normal circulation would appear to be Hofheim, where TIB·IM occurs on about 25 per cent. of the moneys' *asses*.¹

There is at present no decisive evidence to explain the reason for the three varieties of 'Tiberius' stamp. That they were successive forms is contradicted by the evidence of superimposition, while the idea that all were in contemporary use at a single site is somewhat improbable, despite the strong representation of all three at Vindonissa.² The most likely explanation is that each emanates from a single centre in Upper Germany, and there is some evidence to support this view. At Vindonissa TIB·A/G is by far the commonest form, and may therefore have been applied in Vindonissa or its neighbourhood. TIB·IM is common at Hofheim, but as this is only the camp of an



auxiliary cohort and was, in any case, founded later than the period of the countermark, its origin must be sought elsewhere; the neighbouring legionary camp at Mainz, which dates from late in the reign of Augustus, is an obvious choice. For (TIB), the remaining legionary fortress in Upper Germany suggests itself, Strasbourg-Argentorate. Here 117 Augustan coins have been recorded, though mostly without any description except of size; of these, thirty-three are noted as having countermarks, among which are ten examples of (TIB) as against two each of TIB·A/G and TIB·IM.³

The four countermarks can now be arranged in their suggested geographical order from north to south with the number of instances of multiple countermarks, irrespective of order of application, noted between them. Though the numbers are small, the fact that countermarks from adjacent areas appear more frequently together on a

¹ Eight examples of TIB·IM among 32 *asses*.

² TIB·A/G, 257 examples; TIB·IM, 155 examples; (TIB), 92 examples.

³ Forrer, *Strasbourg-Argentorate*, pp. 579 f. In some cases, though by no means all, (TIB) is specified as against (TIB); at Vindonissa the rarity of (TIB) (16) compared with (TIB) (92) shows that the latter is the normal form in the area.

single coin than do those from areas farther apart is some confirmation of the arrangement proposed.

IMP·A/G (Pl. VI, 3)

(a) *The coins*

This countermark, unlike the 'Tiberius' group, is hardly ever found on the Altar coins of Lugdunum;¹ the overwhelming majority of examples are on moneyers' asses. It occurs also on a few coins dated as late as A.D. 22-23.²

(b) *The countermarks*

The crucial point has already been noted above in the discussion of Grünwald's theory; IMP·A/G is always applied later than the three 'Tiberius' stamps already discussed (Pl. VI, 3). The evidence from Vindonissa is extensive and decisive,³ and is supported by examples from elsewhere.

(c) *Geographical distribution*

The fact that IMP·A/G and *Caesar* very rarely appear on the same coin argues that IMP·A/G was applied in Upper Germany only. This conclusion is supported by the evidence of distribution.

	Total finds of Augustan moneyers' asses	Number countermarked IMP·A/G	Percentage countermarked IMP·A/G
Nijmegen . .	125	5	4
Neuss Sels. .	129	3	2
Hofheim . .	32	10	30
Vindonissa .	945	316	33

To determine whether IMP·A/G was affixed at one site only or was common to the three main centres of Upper Germany seems hardly possible on the material at present available. It depends very largely on the question whether IMP·A/G was applied quite soon after the 'Tiberius' stamps, or only after a considerable interval had elapsed.

¹ Out of 316 at Vindonissa one only is on the Altar coinage; see Grünwald, p. 122.

² See p. 116, n. 4, above and p. 116.

³ Grünwald, pp. 135 f.

At Vindonissa IMP·A/G is combined with the 'Tiberius' stamps as follows:

TIB·A/G (Vindonissa?) 97 times.

TIB·IM (Mainz?) 44 times.

(TIB) (Argentorate?) 32 times.

TIB·A/G, if the local stamp, is naturally the most strongly represented and can be ignored for the moment. TIB·IM and (TIB) are apparently not local and will therefore have required time to travel from their sites of origin to Vindonissa. Now, since lateral movement of bronze currency along the frontier seems to have been both rare and slow, two alternatives are possible:

- (a) either IMP·A/G was used soon after the 'Tiberius' stamps, and at all three centres simultaneously, so that the coins from Vindonissa bearing TIB·IM or (TIB) and IMP·A/G would normally have arrived there with both stamps already impressed, or
- (b) IMP·A/G was used a long time after the 'Tiberius' stamps, and may have been used at Vindonissa only, in which case the TIB·IM and (TIB) coins would have arrived there bearing a single stamp only.

Kraft has reached the conclusion that the 'Tiberius' stamps were applied in the first part of Tiberius' reign down to A.D. 22-23 and that IMP·A/G must therefore be later, though still Tiberian, since it occurs predominantly on Augustan coins.¹ The maximum gap is therefore fourteen years, and might be much less if the 'Tiberius' stamps fall wholly after A.D. 23, a possibility not formally excluded by the evidence. In view of the facts that very few countermarked coins were exchanged between Neuss and Hofheim, less than 150 miles apart, and that IMP·A/G is well represented at both Hofheim and Vindonissa, the most reasonable conclusion seems to be that IMP·A/G was applied simultaneously in at least three major centres of Upper Germany.

¹ Kraft, pp. 31 f.

TIAV (Pl. VI, 4)

Although this very common countermark is found from end to end of the Rhine frontier, its behaviour varies greatly from site to site.

At Hofheim, as invariably elsewhere, the countermark is found only on coins of the reigns of Caligula and Claudius. Most remarkable is its appearance on 48 out of 61 (78 per cent.) orthodox and barbarous *asses* of M. Agrippa, always placed in the field of the reverse to the left of the head of Neptune, thus causing the minimum interference with the type. Distribution on other coins is as follows:

	Total specimens	No. countermarked TIAV
Caligula sestertii	1	1
„ dupondii (Germanicus SIGN·REC)	9	3
„ <i>asses</i>	26	..
Claudius sestertii	6	4
„ dupondii	2	..
„ <i>asses</i>	24	1

At Vindonissa the Agrippa *asses* yield a very different result, for out of 200 only 10 (5 per cent.) have the countermark. For the other coins the distribution is not dissimilar:

	Total specimens	No. countermarked TIAV
Caligula sestertii	28	1
„ dupondii (Div. Aug.)	39	2
„ „ (Germanicus SIGN·REC)	26	6
„ „ (Nero and Drusus)	15	..
„ <i>asses</i>	275	2
Claudius sestertii	51	19
„ dupondii	37	2
„ <i>asses</i>	84	3

Common to both sites is the avoidance of dupondii (except those of Germanicus) and of *asses* (except Agrippa) and the high incidence on Claudian sestertii.

In the sector north of Hofheim Neuss Lager, surprisingly, has not yielded a single example of TIAV, despite the fact that 75 per cent. of the sestertii and 75 per cent. of the dupondii of Claudius bear countermarks.¹ Conversely only two examples of the multiple

¹ Neuss Lager has only three Agrippa *asses*, but Claudian sestertii and dupondii are far more numerous than at Hofheim.

countermarks so common at Neuss (to be discussed below) turn up at Hofheim¹—remarkable testimony to the immobility of *aes* coinage.

Farther north still, in what is now Holland, *TIAV* reappears, but, whereas farther south it normally appears alone, it is there always accompanied by one or more of the countermarks *MP*, *PRO*, and *BON*, and is always upon the obverses of sestertii of Claudius.² For the moment, until these accompanying marks have been further examined, little more can be said about *TIAV*, except that its date is obviously Claudian or post-Claudian.

MP,³ *PRO*, *BON*, *TIAV* (Pl. VI, 6–8)

These countermarks are found usually in groups of from two to four on a coin, nearly always carefully arranged around the head so as to cause the minimum interference with the features.

(a) *The coins*

The coins marked are, with very few exceptions, Claudian.

Countermarks	Claudius sestertii	Claudius dupondii	Claudius asses	Other coins
<i>MP PRO BON TIAV</i> .	6	..	..
<i>MP PRO BON</i> . .	11	6 (Pl. VI, 6)	1	
<i>MP PRO TIAV</i> . .	5	..	..
<i>PRO BON</i> . . .	5	1	..	
<i>PRO TIAV</i> . . .	1	..	..
<i>MP PRO</i>	8	17	..	1 Germanicus SIGN-REC dupondius
<i>PRO</i>	2	5	..	1 Caligula sestertius
<i>MP</i> . . . . .	..	1	..	
<i>BON</i>	1	1	7	

¹ If the date suggested below (A.D. 80–81) for the Neuss multiple countermarks is correct, this would explain the virtual absence of these countermarks at Hofheim, since the site seems to have been abandoned about this time.

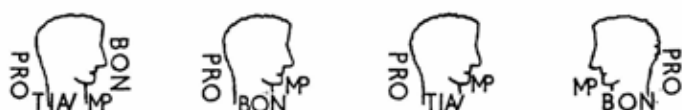
² The only exceptions seem to be two Agrippa *asses* at Nijmegen (Daniëls, p. 29), presumably intruders from the south. Daniëls gives complete statistics only for Augustan coins; totals for all countermarks are, however, given, though somewhat unaccountably no notice is usually taken of the phenomenon of multiple countermarking, each countermark being recorded separately. The observations here made are mainly based on material collected by the writer at Utrecht, Nijmegen, and The Hague.

³ A similar monogram, which occurs on all denominations (except quadrans) of Augustan moneyers, but always alone and always on the reverse, presumably belongs to a different date.

These figures show that the countermarks fell mainly on the orichalcum denominations, and that the number of countermarks used was determined, partly at least, by the size of the coin, sestertii tending to have more than dupondii. The *asses* stand apart in that they usually bear only one stamp, BON, and are, for the most part, unorthodox in style or size. The sestertii and dupondii, on the other hand, seem above reproach in all respects except perhaps wear.

(b) *The countermarks*

These countermarks, always on the obverse, show such regular and careful spacing as to suggest that more than one was affixed at the same time. Typical spacings are:



PRO and MP are regularly placed behind the neck and before the chin respectively; the space across the neck is the next choice, and finally, where four marks are present, that before the face.¹

From the table in the preceding section, PRO stands out as the essential countermark which is present throughout, except on the *asses*, where it is replaced by BON;² it sometimes occurs alone, but is most often accompanied by MP. In all cases observed by the writer, where the relative order can be determined, BON is always later than MP or PRO. This implies two periods of countermarking—a theory also rendered likely by the similarity in meaning of PRO(*batus*) and BON(*us*), which would seem tautologous if applied at the same time.

Two rare countermarks require to be noticed here since they seem always to be found in association with MP, PRO, and TIAV (but never BON)—DVP on sestertii (Pl. VI, 8) and AS on dupondii (Pl. VI, 7); these are always on the reverse and are accompanied by a curious wedge-shaped indentation placed near the edge of the coin. From the few specimens actually seen, DVP and AS seem to have been affixed later than the obverse countermarks.

¹ Specimens so far observed suggest that BON and TIAV may have been affixed later than MP and PRO, which they sometimes partly overlap.

² Perhaps it would be truer to say that the application of PRO was normally confined to sestertii and dupondii, and that BON was later placed on all three denominations.

(c) *Geographical distribution*

The evidence here is clear enough.

Vindonissa has produced no sestertii or dupondii bearing the multiple countermarks under discussion, and only one *as* with BON.¹

At Hofheim there is one sestertius with MP PRO BON and one dupondius with PRO.

At Neuss Lager the picture suddenly changes, for 75 per cent. of the Claudian sestertii and dupondii (totalling fifteen and twenty respectively) bear one or more of the countermarks MP, PRO, and BON (never TIAV).

These countermarks are common also in Holland, with the occasional addition of TIAV. Specimens are frequent at Nijmegen, and there are many more without provenance, but probably local, in collections at The Hague and Utrecht.²

In the light of the observations already made, some further elucidation of these countermarks can now be attempted. The phenomenon of multiple countermarking was evidently peculiar to Lower Germany and its purpose seems to have been to revalidate—or, in the last resort, to downgrade—a proportion of the coinage. This conclusion emerges from an examination of the content of the countermarks themselves. DVP and AS obviously halve the value of the worn or undersized coins on which they appear; BON, on the other hand, must confirm the authenticity of a suspect coin. Likewise PRO is most reasonably explained as some part of the verb *probare*—*probatus* (*nummus*) when standing alone, and *imperator probavit* when accompanied by MP. These expansions are confirmed in principle by the countermark PROB, which is not uncommonly found on Claudian sestertii.³

As to chronology, the only certain statement that can be made on the basis of internal evidence is that these countermarks must be Claudian or post-Claudian, but other considerations may yield a

¹ Grünwald, p. 119.

² By contrast the rich collection of countermarks in Paris has very few. Likewise the river-deposit at Mayenne in Normandy, which contained at least 750 dupondii of Claudius and was certainly formed in post-Claudian times, has produced only two examples (*Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie de la Mayenne*, 1865, p. 31, no. 79).

³ Mr. D. W. MacDowall has drawn my attention to the fact that nearly all the recorded provenances of this countermark are in Britain, and that it may therefore be a local variant of PRO.

somewhat more definite date. The addition to certain coins of countermarks confirming their validity implies that similar coins, not so countermarked, were no longer to be regarded as valid. If such action was taken on account of the general state of wear of certain issues (and there is no reason to suspect discrimination against the coinage of Claudius on political grounds), a date some considerable time after the period of issue is required. If this be so, the first ten years of Nero's reign, during which no *aes* was minted, is definitely too early, and even at the end of Nero's reign, politically an unlikely time, all Claudian *aes* was still well under thirty years old. A hoard recently discovered in north Italy contained *aes* coins from Galba to early Hadrian; the earlier coins showed considerable wear after fifty years' circulation, particularly on the reverse, although the identity of the emperor and much of the obverse legend usually remained clear.¹ On this evidence it would seem reasonable to suppose that *aes* coins might need confirmation between thirty and fifty years after issue. The suggestion was made long ago that the 'restored' coinages of Titus and Domitian in A.D. 80-81 were occasioned by the withdrawal from circulation of early imperial *aes*,² and Ritterling³ has drawn attention to the phenomenon that pre-Neronian issues are rare on sites founded in the last third of the first century A.D.; for example out of 900 coins from Hedderheim hardly more than thirty were earlier than Nero. Thus it seems possible that in A.D. 80 large quantities of Claudian (and earlier?) *aes* coinage were withdrawn from circulation but that local circumstances in Lower Germany and elsewhere may have necessitated the retention in circulation of the better preserved coins—with the addition of countermarks. One centre may have included TIAV among its stamps, thus 'restoring' the obliterated name of Claudius to his coinage. BON, DVP, and AS will then have to be attributed to a further scrutiny of the coinage under Nerva or Trajan.

Hofheim, however, causes a difficulty. The camp was founded about A.D. 40 and was subsequently destroyed violently by burning. The rarity of Nero's coinage from the site shows this to have

¹ Part of this hoard is now in the possession of the writer.

² Oman in NC 1921, *Proc.*, pp. 36 f.; cf. *BMCRE* ii, p. lxxvii.

³ Ritterling II, p. 90.

happened before his *aes* arrived in quantity, i.e. about A.D. 64.¹ The site was later reoccupied in Vespasian's reign and then peacefully dismantled after a few years.² In these circumstances TIAV must have been affixed during the first occupation, that is before 64 at latest. If these lines of argument are right, then TIAV will have been used for different purposes at different centres and at different dates. In favour of this it can be said that the internal evidence shows TIAV to have been variously used in the three main areas in which it is represented.

NCAPR (Pl. VI, 5)

Often described as the commonest of all Roman countermarks, it has usually been interpreted in recent times as a validating countermark.

(a) *The coins*

NCAPR is found on sestertii and dupondii only of the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, being perhaps most common on those of the last. The earlier coins are often well worn, but naturally it is not possible to determine how much of this wear was received before countermarking. On the other hand Claudian coins bearing the countermark are often in fully legible condition and appear to be wholly orthodox in style and size.

(b) *The countermarks*

The letters NCAPR are always neat and small, with none of the tendencies towards irregularity or illiteracy observable in some of the marks already examined. The countermark is placed, wherever possible, in a flat and empty part of the type so as to cause as little disfigurement as possible, and is applied with the minimum necessary force to avoid splitting or contorting the flan. It is never accompanied by any other countermarks.

(c) *Geographical distribution*

Considering the overall commonness of the countermark, of which

¹ Only six *aes* of Nero have been found, of which three are countermarked with the name of Vespasian, showing them to belong to the Flavian period of occupation.

² Ritterling II, p. 81 f.

every major public collection contains numerous examples, it is remarkably rare in the areas under consideration hitherto. Hofheim has produced one out of about twenty-five possible coins; Vindonissa one out of about 235, and Mayenne three out of nearly 800. One example has been found at Nijmegen and none at Neuss Lager.¹ Evidently its origin is to be sought elsewhere and Italy itself is the most likely area for such an obviously official countermark, even though definite evidence for greater frequency in Italian finds is at present lacking.

The expansion of these five letters has long exercised the ingenuity of numismatists, but recently opinion has been generally in favour of a proposal made long ago by Borghesi—*Nero Caesar Augustus probavit* or some phrase of similar meaning. Borghesi reached his solution by observing that the countermark did not occur on coins later than Claudius, and by equating PR with PRO or PROB.

This interpretation fails to overcome the difficulty already encountered above, that perfectly orthodox and still legible coins of Claudius can hardly have needed revalidating within the reign of Nero. Moreover, *probavit* is not the obvious expansion of PR which regularly stands for *populus Romanus*. Some of the old interpretations had made use of this last point and suggested such phrases as *nummus comprobatus a populo Romano*, but *nummus* seems an unnecessary inclusion and *comprobatus* is hardly a self-evident expansion of C.

If these two lines of thought are combined, the phrase *Nero Caesar Augustus populo Romano* is produced. Such a countermark might be appropriate to Nero's *congiarium* of A.D. 57,² for at this time *aes* currency in Nero's own name had not yet been minted, and his instinct for self-advertisement might have rejected the idea of merely handing out coins of his predecessors. The large number of surviving examples, which might seem too numerous for all to be derived from a single distribution, can be explained by the interest which the countermark has aroused and the keenness with which specimens have been sought out, so that many coins, the condition of which would never have won them a place in any collection, have been included because of their countermark. Whatever the final answer,

¹ Ritterling II, p. 104; Grünwald, p. 117; Mayenne, see p. 130, n. 2, above; Daniëls, p. 29.

² Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 31.

NCAPR is certainly distinct in distribution, and probably in purpose and date, from the countermarks previously considered.

Although the object of this paper was not to discover the purpose of countermarks—in some cases it has come near attempting to do so—but to define the behaviour of a few of the commoner varieties, it would not be complete without a brief examination of the bearing of the facts revealed upon some of the current theories about countermarks. Here it must be emphasized that the few countermarks discussed, common though they may be, are only a selection from about fifty main varieties, and that large and important groups, such as the Augustan countermarks, have been omitted altogether.

Professor Grant has undoubtedly proved his main point that the countermarks attributed by Grünwald to 6 B.C. are in fact post-Augustan; he further suggests that many countermarks are due to posthumous commemoration of the emperors named in them: 'I believe, therefore, that TIB., TIB-C., TIB-IMP., TIB-AVG, may represent posthumous celebration of Tiberius.'¹ The dates of these countermarks can be checked; TIB-C is a fairly rare countermark which occurs mainly on the Altar coins of Lugdunum; Grant says it is found also on coins of the principate of Tiberius,² but this is no evidence for posthumous use. TIB and TIB-AVG have been discussed above, and all the evidence points to their use in the first part of Tiberius' reign; Grant cannot point to any post-Tiberian use of these stamps.³ TIB-IMP⁴ is again a somewhat uncommon countermark for which Grant can quote post-Tiberian instances;⁵ yet, even so, it might still refer to Claudius whose *praenomen* was also Tiberius. In some countermarks in which an abbreviation of *Claudius* is included the emperor referred to is in no doubt; where TI alone is

¹ *SMACA* pp. 30 f.

² *SMACA* p. 23 and n. 5, quoting *BMCRE*, i, p. xxxvi and Mainz. In *BMCRE*, however, Altar coins only are quoted.

³ In *SMACA* on p. 24 TIB on coins of Tiberius' reign only is quoted; for TIB-AVG no evidence is offered.

⁴ In *SMACA* TIB-IM[P] is sometimes printed which is a conflation of two forms of probably different dates. TIB-IM has been discussed above and is Tiberian; at Vindonissa TIB-IMP twice occurs struck *over* (and never under) IMP-AVG (Grünwald, pp. 113 and 133).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 23, n. 6. The coin quoted at Utrecht does not read TIB-IMP, but PRO TIAV MP BON.

present, contemporary knowledge and circumstances would have been sufficient. Many abbreviations in use today could not possibly be completely expanded on internal evidence only, and a Roman soldier, perhaps receiving a donative in the reign of Claudius, might understandably read the *TIAV* on his coins as referring to his immediate benefactor rather than the dead Tiberius. Admittedly the suggestion has been made above that *TIAV* might sometimes be post-Claudian, but there it was not so much a matter of honouring the dead Claudius, as confirming, for practical purposes, the validity of an old coin. While there is every reason to believe that Tiberius was accorded posthumous respect, there is no sure evidence to show that this included the extensive application of countermarks bearing his name.

Grant likewise suggests that the countermark *IMP·AVG* represents posthumous commemoration of Augustus;¹ the countermark is certainly later than his reign and Kraft has attributed it to the period A.D. 24–37, though it could be later still. Yet to stamp upon the coinage of Augustus himself a formula which often obliterated or disfigured his features and did not even contain his normal posthumous title of *Divus* seems an unlikely form of honour.² Meyer has already pointed out that *IMP·AVG* does not necessarily mean Augustus himself but very often ‘emperor’ in general.³ If this be so in the present case, *IMP·AVG*, like *MP*, would simply indicate imperial action of some sort without specifying the emperor concerned. The theory of posthumous celebration will need the support of very much stronger evidence before it becomes acceptable.

Of Grünwald’s theory no more need be said except to admit that it does show a new angle of approach to countermarks. Previously the purpose of countermarks had regularly been accepted as economic—to extend the area of circulation or to prolong the life

¹ Op. cit., p. 36.

² The exceptions to the use of *Divus* quoted, op. cit., pp. 36 f., are not sufficient to show that *IMP·AVG* could stand for *Divus* Augustus on the Rhine frontier in the second half of Tiberius’ reign. Three of them (nos. 1, 3, 4) are numismatic revivals or continuations in which the original titulature is copied. In no. 2, apart from provincial solecism, it was not unreasonable to preserve the form of name under which Augustus was actually *deductor*. No. 5 may be early in the reign of Tiberius before the usage of *Divus* had hardened. In the case of no. 6 Asian practice may not be a sure guide for the West.

³ RSN 1947, p. 51.

of a coin—and some countermarks certainly fall within this category. For Grünwald, the countermark was not primarily economic, but rather marked the coin as coming from a certain source. This idea that countermarked coins were used in *ex gratia* payments has been applied above in the explanation proposed for NCAPR and might be capable of further extension. For example, the coin series of Oberaden shows that the Augustan countermarks were applied after about 10 B.C.; these might conceivably be associated with the discharges of soldiers in the years 7, 6, 4, 3, and 2 B.C. when Augustus himself provided their gratuities.¹ The early Tiberian countermarks might be connected with the payment to the troops of the bequests of Augustus, which Tiberius doubled in order to allay their insubordination.² Similarly TIA at Hofheim might mark the accession donatives of Claudius.³ The confirmation or rejection of these and other theories about the purpose of countermarks will depend upon the evidence provided by a corpus of material recording the geographical distribution and the chronological sequence of countermarks as well as the coins on which they occur.

¹ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 16.

² *Tac. Ann.* i. 36; *Suet. Tib.* 48.

³ *Jos. AJ* xix. 247; *Tac. Ann.* xii. 69.

VIII

GREEK MINTS UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE

By ALFRED R. BELLINGER

THE power of Rome, expanding toward the east, found itself in ever closer relations with powers of different kinds: kings, leagues, and cities. These varied greatly in importance and in relation to the Romans, but they were all alike in the characteristically Greek exercise of the right of coinage. Whether they were friends or enemies, this was no concern of the Republic. Philip and Antiochus, the Achaeans and the Aetolians, Athens and Ephesus minted their own money as a matter of course. The same area might be served by coinage of different classes: royal and municipal coins might supplement one another in the economy of a single city, though there is so much obscurity in the numismatic history of the period that we can produce nothing like a detailed picture of the symbiosis of the different kinds of money. We can, however, safely generalize from the instances that we know and conclude that the money of different sovereign authorities combined to make the available currency of the same region.¹ The monetary situation, therefore, was much more

¹ To anyone who deals frequently with hoards or habitually with coins from excavations it may seem entirely superfluous to emphasize this matter, but in the museums the various classes lie so neatly in their separate little trays that the thought of their interaction hardly occurs to one. The doctrine that bronze at least had no legal value outside the area of its origin has a surprising persistence, but we must get rid of it if we are ever to understand the phenomena to which this paper is devoted. The best way to do so is to realize that since the earliest times in the history of money men had dealt in a practical way with the relation of different series produced by different authorities. While there is no general treatment of this question, evidence is recorded in a number of places, a very few of which may be mentioned. Silver tetradrachms of the Chalcidic League which imitate and were intended to circulate with those of Perdiccas II, and bronzes of Amyntas III which imitate and were intended to circulate with those of Pydna, are noted on pp. 181 f. of 'Notes on Coins from Olynthus' in *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, 1953. An interesting discussion of the mixture of coinage current in Asia Minor is that of D. Schlumberger, *L'Argent grec dans l'Empire achéménide*, 1953. A good instance of the simultaneous issue of royal and civic coins from the

complicated than in Italy but probably the idea of simplification occurred to no one.

Like other aspects of the involved process by which Rome became the dominant power in Greek lands, her effect on coinage was neither premeditated nor systematic. Nevertheless, it was real and important. After the defeat of Philip V in 197 B.C., his silver still bore his name and portrait, but the appearance in 196 of such striking innovations as the New Style coins of Athens and the tetradrachms of Euboea,¹ though they showed no ostensible connexion with Rome,² would recall that freedom of the Greeks which Flamininus proclaimed at the Isthmian Games. A decade later, at the time Philip's second type began to be used on his tetradrachms, small silver and bronze with the ethnic but without the royal name was produced from Amphipolis, Thessalonica, and Pella. The fact that the Senate was then championing the cause of the Thessalian towns against him and trying in every way to curb his resurgent power can hardly be pure coincidence. When his son Perseus was beaten in 168, the results were far more serious than those which followed the victory over Philip. Not only was the kingdom broken up into four republics, but from the capitals of the first and second, Amphipolis and Thessalonica, were issued tetradrachms with new types, while Pelagonia, the capital of the fourth, struck bronze. In these cases also there was no evident connexion with the Romans and, for all we know, the types may have been chosen by the local mint masters without any suggestions from outside. But a Greek or Macedonian could hardly look at a coin inscribed ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ without remembering who had made that title possible and necessary. And before long Macedonia was to see the authority of the conqueror

same mint is given by A. Baldwin (Brett), 'Lampsakos; the Gold Staters, Silver and Bronze Coinages', *AJN* 1924, p. 65: 'The Athena head coins, Pl. VI, 33-35, were doubtless struck after the Alexandrine types had been introduced.' Coins of the Arcadians and of the Achaean League were apparently issued simultaneously from Megalopolis after 235 B.C.; M. Crosby and E. Grace, *An Achaean League Hoard*, *NNM* 74, 1936, pp. 6-8, 12.

¹ For the date, see M. Thompson, 'The Beginning of Athenian New Style Coinage', *MN* v (1952), pp. 25-33.

² It may be remembered, however, that a Quintus appears among the New Style moneyers before the end of the century. 'Chronology of Attic New Style Tetradrachms', *Hesperia: Supplement VIII*, 1949, pp. 10, 24, no. 74. The dates there given will have to be revised as a result of Miss Thompson's current studies.

more unmistakably displayed. During the uprising of Philip Andriscus in 149-148 B.C., the legate of the praetor P. Juventius Thalna struck tetradrachms of the same type with the mixed inscription LEG MAKEΔONΩN. After the suppression of the revolt in 148 B.C. and the conversion of Macedonia into a province, bronze was struck for two years bearing in Greek the names and titles of the quaestors Lucius Fulcinnius and Gaius Publilius, and the resumption of coinage in silver in 93 B.C. produced tetradrachms with names and titles now in Latin: (L. Julius) CAE(sar) PR(aetor); AESILLAS Q(uaestor); (Q. Bruttius) SVVRA LEG(atus) PRO Q(uaestore). The pieces of this last are notable for what seems to be an attempt to bring them into official relation with the Roman standard. They bear the letters SI which are generally taken to be a mark of value: 16 sestertii or 4 denarii.¹ A century, then, had sufficed to replace coins of the Macedonian kings by those of Roman officials.

The course of events in Asia was similar but not precisely parallel. The defeat of Antiochus III in 190 B.C. resulted in the limitation of the area of his sovereignty, not in any denial or impairment of his sovereignty itself. It seems likely, to be sure, that the resumption of silver local coinage in Asia Minor, after its detachment from the Seleucid empire, had the encouragement of Rome, whose policy at the moment favoured small independent governments at the expense of the royal domain. Yet there is nothing in the local tetradrachms that suggests connexion with Rome in any way; their types are a direct appeal to civic pride. These were, for the most part, short-lived issues. Partly contemporary were the posthumous spread-flan tetradrachms of Alexander and Lysimachus (still awaiting satisfactory arrangement) which filled, to some extent, the need for an inter-civic currency and which were, of course, equally free of any appearance of foreign influence. We are better informed about the history of the cistophori, which began early in the second century B.C.² with constant type but with the signs of a number of different mints, increased in popularity through Mysia, Ionia, Lydia, and Phrygia, becoming standard for the Roman provinces of Asia and Cilicia, and from 58 until 48 B.C.

¹ HN² p. 241.

² E. S. G. Robinson, 'Cistophori in the name of King Eumenes', NC 1954, pp. 1-8.

bore the names of the Roman officials of those provinces, thirty-five years later than the similar phenomenon in Macedonia.

As for the remains of the Seleucid Kingdom in Syria, to which Pompey put an end in 64 B.C., here the Romans produced only rare imitations of the last royal tetradrachms with the monograms of Gabinius, Crassus, and Cassius in 57, 53, and 51 B.C. The silver and bronze series inaugurated by Caesar in 47 used the same royal types and continued until 20 B.C.¹

There are a number of instances of the intrusion of Rome into the monetary affairs of the East, as for example the denarii of Mark Antony minted at Ephesus, but there is no evidence of a general plan until Augustus. Under Augustus, indeed, there was a plan—or a succession of plans—involving a number of mints and showing, for the first time, an imperial conception of the monetary needs of the Roman world. Greek mints were used to produce unmistakably Roman coins, many were allowed or encouraged to continue the issuing of their own types and an intermediate class appeared (which had precedent in Seleucid times) where the obverse bore the name and portrait of the sovereign, the reverse the name and type of the city where it was struck. Into these three classes we may divide the enormous output of the Greek cities under the empire. The first is chiefly a phenomenon of the early principate and the third century; the second occurs irregularly and, though sometimes of considerable bulk, is clearly of secondary importance; the third provides the majority of the very great number of varieties scattered through the collections of the world, published and unpublished. No general treatment of them is thinkable at present. If anything of the sort is ever accomplished it must be as a result of a grand co-operative enterprise. The most that an article can do is to present a few suggestions for profitable lines of investigation.

It is not implied, of course, that these coins have been neglected. In the first place the sport of hunting them down one at a time has attracted the talents of many eminent numismatists. It is a sport in which the genius of Imhoof-Blumer shone particularly brightly. One cannot help wishing that he had followed the example of the elder Babelon

¹ 'The Early Coinage of Roman Syria', *Studies in honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, 1951, pp. 58-67.

and gathered his random publications into *mélanges* where they could all be found. Some young scholar might do good service both to the discipline and to his own education by preparing an Index to the works of that brilliant man. Even if that were done, however, it would deal with only a very small fraction of the published 'Greek Imperials'. I once contemplated making a card catalogue of them, but I presently found that if I was to do it properly I could do nothing else, and the boxes now lie on my shelves, very much at the disposal of anyone who wants to consult them, but growing less accurate and complete with the passing years. It is obvious that even so limited an enterprise must be carried on by a considerable staff. But let no one suppose that by adding together the big catalogues—Eckhel, Mionnet, Cohen, the British Museum Catalogues—he can get anything like an accurate outline of the available material. Of course, there are highly important treatments of particular districts, like Waddington's *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie mineure* and Wiegand's great unfinished corpus *Die Antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, in which the Roman issues are included with an attempt at completeness, and now and then the Roman issues of a single mint have been exhaustively treated, as in Sydenham's *The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia*, Joseph Vogt's *Die alexandrinischen Münzen*, and Castelin's *The Coinage of Rhessaena in Mesopotamia*.¹ But for most of the empire the collecting has still to be done.

Special interests have produced special studies. The prosopographers are pleased with the number of coins that bear the names of responsible magistrates, of whom an impressive list is found in Rudolf Münsterberg, *Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen*, and these are of capital importance in the study of local governments. Here and there a small problem of political history will yield in the light of the numismatic evidence from the cities.² And, naturally enough, the history of iconography has been much enriched by the abundance of representations of this class. A good illustration of how much the study of a single theme owes to Greek coins of the imperial period is Max Bernhart's 'Dionysos und seine Familie auf

¹ I hope it is unnecessary to remark that these references are intended to be merely illustrative. The compilation of a proper bibliography would be too much for me and for the dimensions of an article.

² e.g. *Yale Classical Studies*, v, pp. 99-154.

griechischen Münzen', *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* i, 1949. Long ago Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner in their *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* called attention to the fact that it was precisely in this period, when their autonomy was lost, that the Greek cities consoled their pride with reproductions of their treasures of sculpture. For many a famous statue the best evidence of its appearance that we have is its adaptation as a coin type.

But without dwelling on what has been accomplished I should like to point out two fields which seem to me most inadequately explored, one in the history of art and the other in the history of economics. The former must receive the briefest of treatment; its proper discussion would involve a very large body of illustrative material. The old persuasion that Greek art reached a height in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. from which all change was a decline (a point of view from which, perhaps, we shall never entirely escape) made it inevitable that the products of Greek mints half a millenium after the day of their greatness should be regarded with a very prejudiced eye by the Greek numismatists who found it necessary to deal with them for completeness's sake. Their estimate of style was essentially that formulated for the coins of Syracuse by Head in the six classes: (1) Archaic, (2) Transitional, (3) Finest, (4) Early Declining, (5) Late Declining, (6) Characteristic of Roman Domination.¹ The implication is, in fact, that by the time one gets to class (6) style has disappeared. Now a collector is entitled to his preference and so, I suppose, is a scholar. But *qua* scholar he can hardly admit that there is a point where art stops and everything that follows is progressive error. The Greek die-sinkers who worked under the empire still presumably felt that they were cutting designs which were pleasant to the eye, but you will read a great many pages about their types before you come to a word suggesting that the question whether the design is successful or not is one which a sensible man could ask. Now I submit that only a spendthrift will cast aside nearly 300 years of a minor art exhibiting the greatest variety of forms and originating in the greatest variety of places. If the necessity of serving the imperial propaganda is ultimately a stifling influence on the imperial coinage, the same is

¹ Quoted by Sutherland in a stimulating essay, 'What is meant by "Style" in Coinage?', *MN* iv (1950), pp. 1-12.

not true of these civic coins where down to the very end one finds a freedom in the choice of subjects long lost at Rome and the branches of the Roman mint. An obvious place to begin, now that the study of late Roman portraits has become respectable, is with the imperial portrait at different eastern cities. It may be that in the early principate the gold and silver of the capital furnished the model for local die-sinkers.¹ But there comes a point when that theory will no longer serve. To take a striking case, a group of Syrian cities minted tetradrachms for Caracalla. To compare these simultaneous portraits leads one to think carefully of what is meant by style. Either a great number of different models are followed (and they cannot all be aurei and denarii) or the artists display the most extreme individual differences.² This kind of problem may not appeal to many numismatists, but no one, I think, can feel that the necessary work has already been done—or begun, for that matter.

The other field which calls for investigation is economics. If these coins are artistically the step-children of the Greek numismatists, economically they are the step-children of the Roman. They appear neither in *The Roman Imperial Coinage* nor in the *Catalogue of the Roman Imperial Coins in the British Museum*, those two great series whose inauguration over thirty years ago is so splendid a monument to the scholar whom these essays are composed to honor; nor are they included in Strack's *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts* of a decade later. The reason for their exclusion is obvious and is entirely proper, and yet anyone using so impressive a corpus, with its copious and well-ordered material, might be excused for believing that he had at hand the essentials of the Roman monetary structure, to which the scattered products of the civic mints could make only a trivial contribution. It is this assumption which I wish to challenge. An important enlarging of the horizon came with Michael Grant's remarkable book *From Imperium to Auctoritas* and he has been forcing us ever since to pay real attention to coins previously neglected or unknown. From an economic point of view *The Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus* is particularly valuable

¹ A theory strongly supported, e.g., by *SMACA* pp. 63 ff.

² The varieties are gathered in *The Syrian Tetradrachms of Caracalla and Macrinus* which I published in 1940.

because it gives us a much needed sense of the proportionate importance of different issues of bronze. 'It has been insufficiently recognized that this *aes*, by its vast quantity and ramifications, played an integral and essential part in the world-coinage which Augustus inaugurated.'¹ Yet though the book rightly recognizes as imperial coins those which had earlier been dismissed as local, it makes a clear distinction 'between the *official issues* of men representing the Roman State, and the *local issues* of cities within the Empire',² and announces that it will be concerned only with the former class. A similar limitation is accepted in the earlier book whose scope was 'the *aes* coinage between 49 B.C. and A.D. 14 of all Roman officials and cities, and of those peregrine communities throughout the Empire whose money bears or implies a reference to Roman institutions'.³ I have no quarrel whatever with Grant's division of the problem for I am sure that he hopes to have it treated in segments systematically in the beginning with the expectation that they will all be reunited in the end. The segments with which he has elected to deal are of obvious constitutional importance and should indeed be investigated as thoroughly as the evidence will permit. But there is an aspect of the coinage to which the constitutional considerations are not pertinent at all—the aspect expressed by the fundamental economic question 'What money did the people actually use, at what places and at what times?' It is a question which concerns the whole course of the empire (and the pre-imperial period too, for that matter), but, since Grant has prepared the ground for us excellently for the time of Augustus, let us give some attention to the elements which it was no part of his purpose to consider.

As his title shows, Grant believes—and, it seems to me, has proved—that there were six series of *aes*, notable for their bulk and their dispersion, which were the basis of Augustus' world-coinage in bronze. Of particular interest to us are (1) (*rev.* priests or colonists ploughing), (3) (*rev.* S.C.), and (4) (*rev.* C.A. or AVGUSTVS). They are alike in having

¹ *SMACA* p. xv.

² *SMACA* p. xi. Without any desire to quibble, I may remark that this italicized antithesis between *official* and *local* seems to me to pre-judge the question 'were the local issues a part of Augustus' world-coinage?' In some cases at least I find reason to believe that they were. The fact that Grant does not intend to deny this is shown by his quotation (p. 129) from Heichelheim: 'local needs had to be satisfied by regional issues . . . local coinage traditions on the periphery had to be placated'.

³ *FITA* p. ix.

been struck in the East at a number of different mints, whereas (2), (5), and (6) are Western. It is essential to Grant's argument that he should show that these had a circulation wider than a single province and he has therefore given an invaluable list of places where he has found them.¹ This clearly indicates the general areas the various series served, but it does not settle the question of how complete that service was. I should like to consider a few cases where the evidence of excavation shows that the imperial series was complemented to a greater or less extent by local additions.

Troy lies within the territory covered by series (1) and (4); 5 quadrantes(?) of the former have been found in the excavations by the University of Cincinnati, while one sestertius and one *as* of the latter were acquired at the site.² Now in the time of Augustus little bronzes, of 11-13 mm., were struck in half a dozen varieties. Of these there are 37 found at the site. Moreover, closely related bronzes of the same size, bearing Augustus' name, furnish 21 specimens, while 3 larger types provide 4, 6, and 16 specimens.³ So we have from Troy 5 official quadrantes, 1 *as* and 1 sestertius, 47 civic coins of Augustus, and 37 pseudo-autonomous ones of the same time. No attempt at close dating of these latter classes has been made, but a suggestion or two might be offered. The smallest coins may quite possibly have been intended as half of the quadrans and may therefore have been contemporary with Grant's series (1). This would account for 48 of the local pieces, and perhaps 52, since the next largest size is no more than 14 mm. The type with the name of the moneyer Demetrius, however, and that with the standing figure of Augustus are 16 mm. and 17-18 mm. respectively.⁴ That is, the second in particular is of a size to be regarded as a competitor of the quadrans rather than its fraction. Did the two circulate side by side? Or is it not likelier that

¹ Summarized in *SMACA* pp. 16-20, and in greater detail in the pages of *FITA* there referred to.

² The material is not yet published. The coins acquired from workmen and peasants by the excavators are quite as valuable for our purposes as those from the excavations themselves, and I shall use the combined totals. The random records of Schliemann conveniently gathered by Louis Robert, *Études de numismatique grecque*, 1951, pp. 75-77, give hints that he also found series (1) and (4): '1 monnaie de Parion' (p. 77); 'médaillles romaines depuis Auguste' (p. 76).

³ These are the types of von Fritze, 'Die Münzen von Ilion', in Dörpfeld's *Troja und Ilion*, pp. 477-534, nos. 26 and 27, time of Augustus; nos. 40, 42, 39, 38 in the order of their mention in the text.

⁴ von Fritze, 39, 38.

the 'official' issue, of which we have 5 specimens, was driven out by the 'local' of which we have 16? As for the higher denominations, the mint of Ilium did not produce them at this time, and its little coins may be regarded as a supplement to them, whether their scarcity at the site is caused by their greater value and lower rate of loss, or by their scarcity at the time. In any case, the citizens of Troy did not content themselves with the use of imperial series, nor can we reasonably suppose that they were intended to.

Antioch in Syria is regarded by Grant as the mint at which his series (3) originated, and it may also have been the mint for the 'Syrian subdivision' of (4).¹ The excavations of Antioch have produced 11 specimens of (3), 19 of (4).² One of the former is certainly a semis, 7 of the latter apparently so. Both series are thought to have begun about 14 B.C. But from 7 B.C. to A.D. 14 dated municipal bronzes were issued and of these there are 53, 48 of them semisses. As apparently all three series were produced by the same mint it would seem that the arrangement was that there should be some overlap in semisses and *asses* with the local issues concentrated in the former class, the imperial in the latter. Indication that this was not an arrangement designed for the citizens of Antioch alone is furnished by the excavations at Dura, whence came 5 municipal *asses* and 5 semisses, 13 imperial *asses* and 1 semis.³

From the excavations at Curium in Cyprus⁴ come three semisses of series (4) with the spelling CAISAR which Grant assigns to a European mint,⁵ though the portrait looks to me very much like that which he locates at Pergamum—at least it is quite unlike his Cypriot group—one illegible dupondius (?) of series (4) and one *as* of series (3). There are two local semisses of Cyprus from 27 and 22 B.C. and four *asses* of Augustus and Gaius together. The numbers here are too small to be of much use, but they do show that despite the presumed issues of groups of both (3) and (4) in Cyprus, the local types seem to have been quite as important as they.

The situation in Greece is more extreme. The inclusion of 'Corinth'

¹ *SMACA* p. 116. One wonders about the likelihood of the simultaneous issue of two different types of official *as* in the same district.

² D. B. Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, iv, part ii, 1952, pp. 29-31.

³ *Dura Final Report* vi, p. 73. The denominations are there given as dupondius and *as*.

⁴ Not yet published.

⁵ *FITA* p. 107.

and 'Greek sites' among the find spots of series (2), and of 'Greek sites' among those of series (4)¹ would seem to indicate that Corinth would be a normal place to look for those issues. But the record is disillusioning. A single *as* of series (2) is the only representative of the imperial issue of Augustus, while the *duoviri* of his time supply eighty-three specimens, sixty-five of the largest denomination, which may be a *semis*.² One might almost conclude that the imperial coin is as much an accident as the six others of Augustus from various places (Thessalonica, Thessalian League, Peparethus, Nicopolis and Alexandria, plus one of the pseudo-autonomous pieces of Antioch). This would not be quite fair since the imperial coin is the only *as*, all the others being smaller, and it is possible that there was more imperial large bronze used in Corinth than the single find would indicate. But so far as our evidence goes it shows a major use of local issues and a very minor use of imperial.

These data lead us to ask, not in legal but in practical terms, what is the nature of the 'imperial' issues. What can a coin marked *SC* do that one of the same size with Zeus as a type cannot? In the city of their origin—Antioch in this case—they were manifestly both used, and the evidence from Dura shows that they were both used at a great distance from that city. Doubtless the *SC* coins appear over a wider territory because they are issued from a number of different mints, but there is no reason to believe that there is any part of that territory where they are not competing with local types. What, then, is their special function? It is sometimes said that the local coinage was continued to take care of local needs. But what other need is there for bronze? The only suggestion I have ever heard of is that the *SC* coins might be strictly legal tender and acceptable as payment of obligations to the government while the local coins were not. There are obvious objections to this, but the one that seems to me conclusive is that there are not two classes to be

¹ *SMACA* pp. 16, 18.

² Katherine M. Edwards, *Corinth*, vi. *Coins*, 1933, pp. 76, 17–19. The only representatives of the imperial bronze from Athens are two of the same variety of series (2), one of series (4); M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*, ii. *Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period*, 1954, p. 10. The fact that the Greek coins are not yet published and the local issues of Augustus not accurately defined prevents us from stating definite proportions, but it is certain that three *asses* are not the only relics of the period of Augustus.

explained, but three: the 'imperial' bronzes; the bronzes with an imperial obverse and a civic reverse; and the bronzes with civic types on both sides (like the pseudo-autonomous issues of Antioch). I have elsewhere put forward the hypothesis¹ that the explanation of the three classes is not constitutional but economic. The coining of bronze was a valuable privilege since the face value of the coins was greater than their bullion value. In the case of 'imperial' issues the profit went to the emperor; in the case of combined imperial and civic types the profit was divided; in the case of the pure civic types the city was allowed to retain the profit. This is manifestly incapable of proof in default of records, but it has the advantage of offering an explanation for all the facts consonant with the principle that money is basically a practical matter. It would mean that Augustus' primary purpose in creating his international currency was fiscal. It would explain why there was no attempt to discontinue the local issues in favor of the imperial. The local issues in the East were recognized as necessary, and though in many cases, doubtless, they were trivial, in others they did half the work of the bronze currency and more, and no true picture of the money of the empire can be arrived at without taking them into account. It seems certain that the government of Augustus must have realized that this would be so, and the distinction between 'official' and 'unofficial' therefore ought not to be taken as a distinction between what was within his programme and what was outside it.

The process of gradual encroachment on the freedom of the cities, which was noticeable under the Republic, continued through the Empire. The local coinage under the successors of Augustus became more and more an instrument of imperial economic policy² until the time when the debasement of what had been Roman silver under Gallienus closed most of the city mints because bronze was too expensive to manufacture; a few lingered on to Aurelian and, last of all, Alexandria ceased to coin her own types under Diocletian. The result was a true international currency where all mints were branches of the mint of Rome and all types selected by imperial officials. It was the end of an epoch whose problems are still in large measure unsolved and offer the numismatist one of his most alluring opportunities.

¹ *Dura, Preliminary Report*, viii-ix, 1939, pp. 407 ff.

² e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 408-16.

IX

THE CISTOPHORIC SERIES AND ITS PLACE IN THE ROMAN COINAGE¹

By A. M. WOODWARD

A FULL hundred years have elapsed since Pinder published, in the *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy, the first systematic study of the Greek Cistophori and of the Roman imperial silver minted on the same standard.² His work is still of real value, and his recognition of the fact that the Imperial Cistophori (to give them the name now usually employed) represent a deliberate continuation of the Greek series, but under different conditions, is not the least of its many merits. As, however, a considerable amount of additional material has come to light since 1855, and some of his attributions and conclusions have proved to be no longer acceptable, no apology is needed for returning to the subject of his study.

In the present essay the Greek Cistophori do not come under examination, and any discussion of the still-vexed problem of the date and place of their first issue must be left to others. Nevertheless, mention should be made here of the view put forward recently by Sydney P. Noe,³ who accepts as literally accurate the use by Livy of the term Cistophori in his description of the spoils borne in four Roman Triumphs in the years 190-187 B.C. He proposes also to date the Cistophori minted at Sardes to the period 228-220 B.C. before the city passed again into Seleucid possession in the latter year, and the beginnings of coinage of the same class at Pergamon (cf. Pl. VII, 1) and Ephesus to 'approximately the same time'. This innovation he

¹ I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum for the provision of casts to illustrate this essay, and for affording me facilities for study in the departmental library and much friendly assistance.

² M. Pinder, *Über die Cistophoren und die kaiserliche Silbermedaillons der römischen Provinz Asia* (1855).

³ *MN* iv (1950), pp. 29-41.

interprets as an economic offensive intended to supplant Seleucid currency. But there seem to be some weak links in the elaborate arguments presented in favour of this early date, although the support which they afford for the literal interpretation of Livy's references to Cistophori is a point not lightly to be set aside. In any case, we may gratefully acknowledge the addition of Hierapolis to the list of cities which minted Cistophori, on the evidence of a hitherto unpublished piece from the Newell collection.¹

Whatever may have been the precise date of their origin there can be little doubt that the creation of the Province of Asia in 133 B.C. saw no immediate reduction in the activity of the principal cistophoric mints. That of Ephesus, which continued, apparently, almost without interruption until 67 B.C.,² is, however, exceptional, for several other mints seem to have ceased to function in that capacity before the end of the second century (Pl. VII, 2). Tralles, for example, was presumably deprived of this privilege in 126 B.C. as a penalty for its active support of Aristonicus,³ but this can scarcely be true of Apamea, where the evidence from the names of annual magistrates points to the minting of Cistophori in at least seventeen years after 133 B.C., though we cannot allot exact dates to them.⁴

The gradual revival of the cities of the Province after the wholesale murder of the Roman population by order of Mithridates in 88 B.C. and the crippling taxation imposed on them in consequence, enabled a few mints to be reopened with authority to issue Cistophori again. This activity falls within the ten years commencing 58 B.C., and the traditional type is revived, the name of the Roman provincial governor being added prominently on the reverse, besides the name, usually now given in full, of the annual responsible magistrate of each mint-city, which had appeared on the normal Cistophori from

¹ Op. cit., p. 40, pl. vii, no. 4, dated after 133 B.C.; on a small flan, with the snakes' heads facing each other. The symbol on the reverse looks like the fore-part of a wolf to r. (cf. the wolf as symbol on two early Cistophori of Laodicea, *BMC Phrygia*, p. 278, nos. 1, 2). Noe's map showing the mint-cities (p. 37) erroneously puts Hierapolis at the site of Hieropolis, east of Apamea, instead of close to Laodicea. ² *BMC Ionia*, p. 65; *Lydia*, pp. cxxxvii f.

³ Op. cit., *Lydia*, loc. cit. The recent, and convincing, attribution of the Cistophori with BA EY in the reverse legend to the revolt of Aristonicus (E. S. G. Robinson, *NC* 1954, pp. 1-8) calls for mention in this connexion.

⁴ Op. cit., *Phrygia*, pp. xxxii f.; at Laodicea in the same period we have fifteen different names of magistrates. At Sardes the latest dated example belongs to 112 B.C., at Nysa to 111 B.C.: op. cit., *Lydia*, pp. 238, no. 9, and 170, no. 1.

133 B.C. onwards. On these new issues, which emanate from only five mints (Ephesus, Pergamon, Tralles, Laodicea, Apamea (Pl. VII, 3)), a slight diminution of the weight from that of the previous group is recognizable. In fact a gradual decline can be traced from the beginning of the series. Although the official weight is accepted as 12.73 grammes (= 196.5 grains),¹ it is exceptional to find a piece in the earliest series weighing as much as 195 grains, and the average would appear to approximate to 192-3; but after 133 B.C. it may be reckoned at about 187-8, whilst in the Proconsular series we seldom find a specimen weighing as much as 190 grains,² and the average works out as rather below than above 185. Even so, this appreciably exceeds the 'normal' weight of three denarii of 3.90 grammes (= 11.70 = c. 180.5 grains).

No Cistophori were minted during the period between the Battle of Pharsalia and the arrival of Antony in the Near East after the Treaty of Misenum in 39 B.C. How soon after his arrival we should date the beginning of the issue of Cistophori with his portrait we cannot hope to determine. It is safe to assume that the type with his laureate head alone on the obverse must be contemporary with the other on which it appears jugate with that of Octavia, though her name does not appear in the legend either of this type or of the other where we find her head on the reverse, supported on a *cista mystica* between two snakes (Pl. VII, 4, 5). No less certainly, both issues date from after their marriage in 39 B.C. and it seems quite possible that Antony crossed from Athens to Ephesus in that year, or in 38, and gave orders for the mint to restart its activities, for both economic and propaganda purposes, in advance of his other preparations for his Parthian expedition in 37.³ But these orders might, of course, have been sent in writing.

The presence of Octavia's unnamed portrait on these pieces is in striking contrast to that of Cleopatra on the reverse of Antony's

¹ Cf. G. F. Hill, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, pp. 39 f.

² An example of a Proconsular Cistophorus of Pergamon (C. PVLCHER PROCOS.) which weighs 14.35 grammes (= 221.5 grains), Babelon, *Inv. Wadd.*, no. 6967, must have been struck on a flan of foreign origin, perhaps a Seleucid tetradrachm of the Phoenician standard.

³ Possibly an early visit to Ephesus is to be inferred from the passage of Strabo, xiv. 23 (c. 642) describing Antony's extension of the area of the *Asyia* of the temple of Artemis, subsequently cancelled by Augustus.

issue of tetradrachms, usually ascribed to the mint of Antioch, where her richly bejewelled portrait is accompanied by the legend ΒΑCΙΑΙCΚΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ ΘΕΑ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑ.¹ We need not wonder that Octavius, as soon as was practicable after the Battle of Actium, took steps to revive the minting of Cistophori, both for commercial purposes and in order to counter, rather than replace, those of Antony. Unexpectedly, it was in the Province of Bithynia, not of Asia, that the first mint for this purpose was opened in 29 B.C., with the issue of a single type combining his laureate portrait with a figure of Pax on the reverse, behind which is a small *cista* with a snake emerging upwards from its top (in contrast to the obverse type of the Greek Cistophori where it emerges downwards through the half-open lid) (Pl. VII, 6). The emphasis is, of course, on Pax, who holds a caduceus and stands on or beside a sheathed sword; and no doubt the surrounding laurel-wreath is chosen deliberately to replace the ivy-wreath of the earlier issues.² In discussing this type recently I ascribed the issue, hesitatingly, to the mint of Nicomedia,³ in ignorance of the fact that this suggestion had been made more definitely by Dr. Clemens Bosch, with whose view I am glad to find myself in agreement.⁴

After the acceptance by Octavius of the title Augustus in January, 27 B.C. the situation changes, for Asia replaces Bithynia as the source of Cistophori. The earliest mint to start operations is that which I have attributed to Chios:⁵ its products are readily distinguishable by the placing of the legend IMP. CAESAR behind the Emperor's head, which occasionally faces to the left, as well as by certain distinctive features of the portrait (accompanied sometimes by a *lituus*) and by the choice of three reverse types, a Sphinx seated to r, a bunch of six ears of corn, and a capricorn within a laurel-wreath,⁶ in each case with the plain legend AVGVSTVS (Pl. VII, 7, 8, 9).

¹ *BMC Cappadocia, Galatia, Syria*, p. 158, nos. 53-56; to judge by the large number of different dies employed, this coinage, like the Ephesian Cistophori of Antony, must have been struck in very large quantities.

² *RIC* i, p. 60, no. 10.

³ *NC* 1952, pp. 19 ff. and 40; pl. ii, nos. 1, 2.

⁴ *Die kleinasiatischen Münzen der röm. Kaiserzeit*, p. 78.

⁵ *NC* 1952, p. 24.

⁶ *BMCRE* i, nos. 701, Sphinx; 699-700, ears of corn; 698, capricorn. In *RIC* i, p. 61, nos. 12-14, the products of this mint are not distinguished from those of the mint of Ephesus.

Easily distinguishable from this is the group which we need not hesitate to assign to Ephesus. The style is less accomplished and the portraits vary in quality and execution; two of the reverses of the earlier group reappear, but the Sphinx gives place to a garlanded altar with two confronted deer.¹ The obverse legend, again IMP. CAESAR, is now centred below the neck: that on the reverse is again AVGVSTVS. Certain recognizable varieties in the style of the portrait, to which attention was drawn in the article already mentioned,² would seem to indicate that the obverse dies may well have been the product of more than one workshop, but it seems quite possible also that one or two other cities may have been authorized to coin with the same types, in order to speed up or expand the output, for it is obvious that this series was minted in much larger numbers than that attributed to Chios. This would account most simply not only for the differences in the style of the portrait, but also for the existence of a Sphinx-reverse of a clearly different style, accompanying an unusual portrait of Augustus, which had at one time been claimed by Sydenham as the product of a Syrian mint.³ Quite possibly this, and also some of the pieces with the other reverse types, may be dated from after 19 B.C., since the large number of dies noted for the Ephesus group suggests an activity that lasted for several years after its presumed beginning in about 25 B.C.

This would imply that our second group continued to be minted during the period when the mint of Pergamon came into operation, with its three new types,⁴ before Augustus entered on his fifth *tribunicia potestas* in the summer of 19 B.C. The date is established by two examples, one with the temple of Rome and Augustus on the reverse, the other with the triumphal arch (Pl. VII, 10, 11), each bearing on the obverse the date TR.PO.IV, and on the latter piece the same date is repeated on the entablature of the arch.⁵ That the issue continued after the summer of the year 18 is shown by the presence on a specimen of the triumphal arch type of the date TR.PO.VI,⁶

¹ RIC, loc. cit., no. 11; BMCRE i, nos. 694-5.

² NC 1952, p. 26.

³ Op. cit., pp. 24 f.; BMCRE i, no. 702.

⁴ RIC i, p. 61, nos. 15-17 (mistakenly attributed to Ephesus); BMCRE i, nos. 703-5.

⁵ NC 1952, pp. 27 f., pl. iv, nos. 1, 5.

⁶ Ibid., pl. iv, no. 10.

but the rarity of these exceptionally dated types makes it clear that the great bulk of the Pergamene Cistophori were minted in the twelve months from midsummer 19 onwards, to which period all the known examples of the third type, with the circular temple of Mars Ultor (Pl. VII, 12),¹ must belong. Here again the multiplicity of dies, both obverse and reverse, points to a very large issue, and the different treatment of the emperor's features, which in no instance resemble closely those on any specimen from the mint of Ephesus, must represent the work of several engravers.

The output of Cistophori from mints in the Province of Asia thus comes to an end in, or soon after, 17 B.C., to be resumed about the middle of the following century. In this interval the newly-founded mint of Caesarea comes into existence under Tiberius, and at first issues only silver drachmae, which we need not consider here.²

The small group of Cistophori minted under Claudius involves no particular problems, but it is clear that they were not all issued simultaneously. The type with Agrippina's portrait on the reverse (Pl. VIII, 2)³ must belong to the year 50 in view of the emperor's titles which end TR. P. X. IMP. XIIX, and that with the portrait of the young Nero, recently adopted, with the reverse legend COS. DES. PRINC. IVVENT. on a shield within a laurel-wreath must be dated to A.D. 51.⁴ There are no equally clear indications of the date of the three other types, which bear respectively the bare head of Claudius to left with reverses showing either the Emperor being crowned by Fortuna within a distyle temple inscribed on the architrave ROM ET AVG and COM ASI across the field⁵ or the cult-image of Diana Ephesia within a tetrastyle temple, with DIAN EPHE across the field (Pl. VIII, 1);⁶ and

¹ RIC, loc. cit., no. 16; BMCRE i, no. 704; NC, loc. cit., p. 28, pl. iv, no. 11.

² E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia* (1933), pp. 3, 30-32.

³ RIC i, p. 128, no. 55, where the obverse legend is erroneously given as IMP. XIX. A specimen in the Martinetti Sale catalogue (Rome, 1903), no. 1596, described as reading TR. P. XI. IMP. XIIX (but not illustrated), needs verifying.

⁴ RIC, loc. cit., no. 59a; the attribution to the mint of Caesarea given there is mistaken and is not followed by Sydenham in his work on that mint (cf. n. 2, above).

⁵ RIC i, p. 127, no. 52. It seems that this scene is deliberately rendered in three different forms: (a) Claudius and Fortuna are facing each other as though he is willing to receive the crown (e.g. Hall Sale Cat. (1950), no. 1032); (b) he is turning away, as if reluctant (e.g. Basle Sale, *Mzh.* 10, no. 572); (c) both he and Fortuna are turning away from each other, as if the ceremony were distasteful to both (e.g. Rashleigh Sale Cat. (1953), no. 488).

⁶ RIC, loc. cit., no. 53.

the jugate busts of Claudius and Agrippina to left, with the cult-image of Diana Ephesia facing and legend DIANA EPHESIA on the reverse (Pl. VIII, 2).¹ As Agrippina did not receive the title of Augusta until the year 50 this leads us naturally to date the other Ephesian type to the same year, and the type with the emperor being crowned must be closely linked with it by the style of his portrait. In fact there is more than one example of a die-link between these two types.² It may be reasonably concluded that these issues of the year 50 mark some special occasion connected with the cult of Diana at Ephesus, in addition to the 'Theogamia' of the emperor and Agrippina;³ and that this occasion consisted of the dedication of a temple to Rome and Augustus at Ephesus in that year;⁴ and further, that the issue of at any rate the undated types continued into the year 51, when that with the portrait of Nero was first minted.

It seems strange that in Nero's reign the mint of Ephesus did not issue any Cistophori, and that at Caesarea the output during these fourteen years was not extensive. The type showing the head of the deified Claudius on the reverse⁵ is usually dated to the first two years of Nero, but it is noteworthy that on some examples Nero's features look older than in the portraits on the aurei of his first four years, and on others they more nearly resemble those on aurei of A.D. 60-61. On the other hand the type with Agrippina's portrait on the reverse⁶ would seem to be earlier than most of the first group, to judge by the more uniform, and rather younger, style of the emperor's portrait.

¹ Ibid., no. 54.

² Bement Sale Cat. (Neville, viii (1924)), no. 616, rev. cult-image, and Hall (see above), no. 1032; also Ratto Sale Cat. (Lugano, 1925), nos. 807 and 812.

³ BMC *Ionía*, Ephesus, nos. 207-8.

⁴ The date of the dedication of this temple is disputed. Dessau, *Gesch. der röm. Kaiserzeit*, iii. 2, p. 588 (following J. Keil, NZ 1919, p. 117), would date it to the beginning of the reign of Domitian; whilst Bosch, op. cit., pp. 226 f., dates it definitely to the reign of Claudius. The earlier date would certainly seem to be indicated by the bronze coin of Nero with *Ἐφεσίων νεωκόρων* (Waddington, *Fastes*, no. 93; cf. BMC *Ionía*, p. 76, note).

⁵ RIC i, p. 144, nos. 2-7; Sydenham, op. cit., nos. 66-72, and pp. 37 f., draws attention to the varying styles of Nero's portrait; but his attribution to Caesarea of the rare tetradrachms with the same types and legends as the didrachms (previously attributed to Antioch, BMC *Galatía*, &c., p. 171, note) would be more convincing if the former did not exhibit a much flatter relief, giving a distinctly coarser effect, than on the didrachms. It would seem that a less competent engraver, whether at the same or another mint, was employed to cut the dies for the larger pieces, using as his model a didrachm with the later style of portrait.

⁶ RIC, loc. cit., nos. 11-16; Sydenham, op. cit., nos. 73-79.

In any case it must be earlier than the third type, with a Victory and the legend ARME NIAC on the reverse,¹ which cannot be dated earlier than 59 or 60 (according as we connect it with the capture of Artaxata or of Tigranocerta). There seems little room for doubt that all these three types were struck to provide pay for Corbulo's troops in his campaigns against Armenia, and on his authority as Governor of the Province of Cappadocia from A.D. 55; and the choice of the portraits of Claudius and Agrippina for reverse types was, we may reasonably infer, a deliberate announcement of his loyalty to the Imperial House. Later, in the years 63-65 comes a small issue of drachmae and hemidrachms, on which the type of Mt. Argaeus, surmounted by a standing figure which holds globe and sceptre,² is the first revival of a type first used on an (undated) issue of Tiberius.³

Turning now to the Flavian Dynasty, we find the mint of Ephesus reopening apparently in the year 71. Unlike the newly-created mints of Byzantium and Philippi,⁴ this step was not directly due to military necessity arising from the movements of Mucianus at the head of the advance-guard of the Flavian armies in A.D. 69. The few aurei and the far more numerous denarii which bear the mint-mark of Ephesus and date from the year 71⁵ can hardly have been struck for military needs, but would rather indicate that Vespasian contemplated for a time the establishment of an official mint in that city. It is less certain that the issue of denarii (only) dated to the year 74 and bearing a star as mint-mark on the reverse, though of Eastern style, should also be attributed to Ephesus;⁶ but this is rendered rather more probable by the discovery of an entirely unknown Cistophorus of Vespasian, with the reverse type showing him receiving a crown from

¹ *RIC* i, p. 147, no. 37 (didrachm), no. 38 (hemidrachm); Sydenham, op. cit., nos. 80, 81. The date '56-58' given in *RIC* must be too early, for no victory had been achieved by the latter year, and Sydenham gives it as 'probably 59'. The curious piece with Greek legends, that on the reverse being quoted as ΝΕΙΚΗ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ET.B. (Sydenham, op. cit., no. 84, after Mionnet only), can hardly belong to Caesarea, especially as it omits the equivalent of DIVI CLAUDI F. invariably included in Nero's titles at that mint. In any case, what victory did Nero win in his second year?

² Sydenham, op. cit., nos. 85-88.

³ *Ibid.*, no. 42.

⁴ *RIC* ii, pp. 52 f., nos. 311-27.

⁵ Op. cit., pp. 54 f., nos. 328-34, 339-43, 347-50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, nos. 335-8, 344-6; in favour of the attribution to Ephesus is the similarity of the reverse types of both groups.

Fortuna as on the coin of Claudius described above, which is dated to his fourth consulship (A.D. 73-74).¹ This seems to indicate that the imperial mint at Ephesus was still active down to the year 74, but whether it was temporarily closed until 79 or perhaps 80, when a Cistophorus of Titus, as Augustus, was struck there, is uncertain. To this interval Imhoof-Blumer would attribute two rare dupondii, with Annona (or Ceres?) on the reverse, both dated to Vespasian's eighth consulship (77-78),² which, however, are placed under the mint of Commagene by Mattingly-Sydenham.³ The coin of Titus, just mentioned, with the familiar type of a legionary Eagle between two standards,⁴ may date from late in 79, but should perhaps be brought down into the following year and thus made contemporary with the two Cistophori with portrait of Domitian as Caesar (CAES. DIVI F. DOMITIANVS COS. VII) and reverses showing an altar (DIVO VESP.) and Domitian on horseback (PRINC. IVVENT).⁵ The recognition of a common obverse die for these two pieces establishes the identity of both mint and date.⁶ A second Cistophorus of Titus, represented only by a specimen in the British Museum (Pl. VIII, 3), has as reverse type the Capitoline Temple with its triad of statues and the legend CAPIT. RESTIT.,⁷ hitherto known only on Cistophori of Domitian as COS. VIII. (A.D. 82). As it seems most unlikely that the restoration of the temple would be thus commemorated before its completion in 82, this 'hybrid' piece would seem to be due to a survival at the mint of an obverse die of Titus which should have been defaced at his death. That Ephesus was the mint for this small group is incapable of proof, but no other city could have an equally strong claim.

From Domitian's accession until 84, if not later, the output of this currency continues, with a limited range of types. Besides the *Capit. Restit.* piece of the year 82⁸ we find the Eagle and standards, in both

¹ BMCRE iii, no. 449; cf. NC 1925, p. 10, no. 36.

² Imhoof-Blumer, *Zur gr. u. röm. Münzkunde* (RSN xiii), p. 178.

³ RIC ii, p. 110, no. 80.

⁴ RIC ii, p. 125, no. 74.

⁵ Ibid., nos. 75, 76.

⁶ Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit., pp. 168 f.; the specimen of the latter in the British Museum (BMCRE ii, p. 252*) is *fourré*, an extremely rare occurrence among Imperial Cistophori.

⁷ B.M. Accessions, 1948-7-4.

⁸ RIC ii, p. 182, no. 222.

his seventh and eighth consulships,¹ and in the latter year also Domitia's portrait on the reverse;² and we may provisionally attribute to the same year the type with her portrait on the obverse with a standing figure (VENVS AVG.) on the reverse.³ It is less easy to suggest an exact date for the Cistophori of Julia Titi, on which she appears as DIVI TITI (or TITI DIVI) F.,⁴ but they are obviously a later adaptation of the dupondii struck during the reign of Titus, which likewise show Vesta seated to left, holding Palladium and sceptre.⁵ In 84, or soon after, we find the familiar type of six ears of corn, with AVG.GERM. from the emperor's title carried over to the reverse (Pl. VIII, 4);⁶ and then, apparently, the mint closes down for about ten years, to reopen in 95 with a single issue, on which the Eagle and standards are accompanied with the reverse legend COS. XVII.CENS.P.P.P.⁷ Almost without interruption, for again there is no reason to suspect a change of mint, we find a more extensive output in Nerva's brief reign. In addition to the common types of the six ears of corn⁸ and the eagle, or legionary Eagle, between two standards (Pl. VIII, 5) (among which we may observe some interesting varieties),⁹ we find a revival of that with the emperor being crowned by Fortuna in a distyle temple lettered ROM ET AVG. with COM ASI in the field as on the Claudian prototype;¹⁰ this belongs only to his third and fourth consulships. A new departure is marked by the appearance in the former year of the primitive veiled idol of Diana of Perge in her temple, with or without DIANA PERG on the architrave.¹¹ This type, as we shall see, was not only used under Trajan at the same mint but was also chosen as one of the types for the tri-drachm pieces issued from the mint of Caesarea later in his reign. The original choice of this type is puzzling, but there seems little to be said for Imhoof-Blumer's suggestion that it may have been struck at Perge,¹² for not only is that city far beyond the boundaries of the

¹ RIC ii, p. 182, nos. 225-6.

² Ibid., no. 228.

³ Ibid., no. 230.

⁴ Ibid., no. 231. Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit., pp. 167 f., quotes an example with TITI DIVI F. in the Bachofen v. Echt Colln., no. 982, pl. xvi, and a curious variant in his own collection with VENVS for VESTA.

⁵ RIC ii, p. 130, no. 120.

⁶ Op. cit., p. 182, no. 221.

⁷ Ibid., no. 224; a very fine specimen of this rare coin is illustrated in the Basle Sale, *Mzh.* 10, no. 586.

⁸ Op. cit., p. 231, nos. 120, 125.

⁹ Ibid., nos. 118, 119, 124.

¹⁰ Ibid., nos. 122-3; a variety with ROMA ET AVG., Levis Colln. (Naviile xi (1925), no. 492).

¹¹ Ibid., nos. 116-17.

¹² Op. cit., pp. 163 f.

Province of Asia but there seems no visible difference of style in the portrait from the other issues which we may confidently assign to Ephesus. One might, however, find a clue to the choice in the suggestion that the grant of *Asylia* to this famous sanctuary was still a recent memory. We have unquestionable evidence from an inscription that this privilege had already been granted before the death of Domitian,¹ though there is no exact clue to its date; but remembering his interest, especially towards the end of his reign, in matters of religion embracing many other deities in addition to his favourite Minerva,² it seems quite possible that this grant had been made not long before his death and that the implied allusion to it on the coins of Nerva and Trajan (Pl. VIII, 6) was a deliberate public assurance that they would continue to respect it.

Nevertheless, both this and the other types of Trajanic Cistophori were only issued for a short period: the imperial titles are invariably TR.POT. and COS.II. and the series must have come to an end before the commencement of his second *tribunicia potestas*. In fact, the reverse types are substantially the same as under Nerva,³ with the addition of a variety on which the idol of Diana appears without the containing temple,⁴ and one on which Trajan, holding a sceptre, is crowned, not by Fortuna but by Victory holding a trophy, and the legend COM.ASI. is transferred from the field to the exergue, on both varieties of this type.⁵

The mint of Ephesus then closes down for the issue of Cistophori for fully twenty-five years, during which there is a conspicuous increase of activity at the mint of Caesarea. Attention is rightly drawn to this in Sydenham's invaluable study of that mint,⁶ but it would be unwise to assume that the silver coinage issued there was intended to take the place of the Cistophoric issues of the Province of Asia, except possibly for the few tridrachms which were struck at various dates in the reign of Trajan: the earliest of these belongs to 98-99 and the latest to his sixth consulship (112-17). These exceptional pieces deserve attention, for not only do they mark a departure from the

¹ BSA xvii, p. 231, no. 9; corrected, CR 1932, pp. 9 f.

² RIC ii, pp. 151 and 178, nos. 204-8 (the Temple-series of denarii).

³ Op. cit., p. 296, nos. 715-24.

⁴ Ibid., no. 722.

⁶ Sydenham, op. cit., pp. 7 f.

⁵ Ibid., no. 724.

usual currency of didrachms, drachms, and occasional hemidrachms issued from this mint almost continuously since its inception under Tiberius, but they repay classification according as they display Eastern or Western associations. The former comprise the following reverse types: (1) bearded bust (of Zeus?) to r., wearing tall ornate head-dress and holding a *fulmen*;¹ (2) standing figure of Arabia, with small camel at her feet on l., and holding a branch and a bundle of cinnamon-sticks (rather than a sheathed sword);² the date is 103-11 (Trajan's fifth consulship). The pieces with Western associations are more numerous, and comprise the following types: (1) Roma seated to l. on cuirass (A.D. 100),³ as on the normal issues of aurei in the early years of his reign (*RIC* ii, pp. 245 ff., nos. 8, 18, 39); (2) uncertain draped figure holding sceptre and standing to l. on *cista* flanked by two snakes (clearly an adaptation from the Cistophorus of Antony and Octavia; date A.D. 114);⁴ (3) a lighted altar hung with garlands (adapted from the Ephesian Cistophorus of Augustus);⁵ (4) the cult-image of Diana of Ephesus, standing, as on the Cistophorus of Claudius and Agrippina (same date);⁶ (5) the draped idol of Diana of Perge in a distyle temple, as on the coins of Nerva and Trajan mentioned above (date, 112-17; no figure is given after ΔΗΜΑΡΧ.ΕΞ., but the sixth consulship is recorded);⁷ (6) the familiar bunch of six ears of corn;⁸ and (7) the legionary Eagle between two standards⁹ (both types dated as no. 5, but it seems probable that nos. 5, 6, and 7 should all be dated to 114-15 and directly associated with Trajan's advance into Armenia). Of the numerous varieties of didrachms and drachmae minted at this time,¹⁰ it may be noted in passing that some include among the imperial titles the word ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΟC (i.e. Optimus) which he accepted after annexing Armenia in 114, whilst others, like all the later tridrachms, omit it.

Under Hadrian the tridrachm, with one exception, disappears from the issues of Caesarea: this shows Fortuna standing in a tetrastyle temple, and is dated merely to his third consulship, with the addition

¹ Op. cit., no. 173. I omit the numbers in *BMC Galatia, &c.*, as Sydenham's list is much more complete.

³ Op. cit., nos. 179-80.

⁵ Op. cit., no. 187.

⁷ Op. cit., nos. 190, 190a.

⁹ Op. cit., nos. 224-7.

² Op. cit., no. 182.

⁴ Op. cit., no. 186.

⁶ Op. cit., no. 188.

⁸ Op. cit., nos. 219-20.

¹⁰ Op. cit., nos. 191 ff.

of ΠΑΤΗΡ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ, and thus cannot be earlier than A.D. 128.¹ In general, there is a conspicuous decline in the variety of types used for his silver coinage, and the increasing preference shown for the type with Mt. Argæus may reflect the same interest in primitive local cults as is seen on the Cistophori minted in the Province of Asia during his reign. Before we turn to examine these we may briefly survey the extensive output of silver and billon currency which was produced during his reign in various other regions of Asia Minor. The Cilician cities now appear prominent in this respect, with Tarsus in the lead. Here the minting of billon tridrachms and silver tetradrachms was not an entire innovation, for under Domitian we find a small issue of the latter, showing a finely-executed portrait with a fillet-border, which dates from 84 or later; on the reverse is the City Tyche in traditional form, seated with the river-god Cydnus swimming at her feet (*BMC Lycaonia, &c.* p. 186, no. 144). And earlier still a tetradrachm of Tiberius is accompanied by a portrait of Livia with the legend Σεβαστῆς Ἰουλίας Ἡρας Μητρ. Παρ. (*Inv. Wadd.* no. 4622). With Hadrian, however, the usual metal is billon and a larger range of reverse types now appears: in addition to two varieties of the figure of Tyche, seated not on a rock but on a *diphros* or an ornate seat,² we find the standing figure of Sandan (Pl. VIII, 10), as on rare silver and common bronze issues of the second century B.C.³ Much scarcer is the type with Apollo and Perseus clasping hands, the earliest appearance of the myth of Perseus in the type-repertory of the city.⁴ The group of a lion attacking a bull is a revival of the type found on the staters of Mazæus;⁵ and the reverse of an eagle to front with spread wings, with the emperor's bust to l., wearing paludamentum and cuirass, struck in silver,⁶ is of a rather different style, and is more reminiscent of the products of the mint of Antioch. In billon, again, are pieces which approximate in weight to this tetradrachm, with the portrait of Sabina on the reverse;⁷ and as Hadrian not only wears the paludamentum but also is styled ΠΠ on both types

¹ *Op. cit.*, no. 276.² *BMC op. cit.*, nos. 147-8.³ *Op. cit.*, nos. 145-6; cf. nos. 94 ff.⁴ Imhoof-Blumer, *JHS* 1898, pp. 171 ff., no. 39; *BMC op. cit.*, pl. xl, no. 13 (at The Hague).⁵ *BMC op. cit.*, no. 149; cf. nos. 49-58.⁶ *Op. cit.*, no. 150.⁷ *Op. cit.*, nos. 153-4; in spite of being from the same pair of dies these weigh respectively 209 and 191.5 grains.

(as well as *᾽Ολύμπιος* on the former piece) they cannot be earlier than A.D. 128 (autumn), and it is tempting to suggest that they were minted when he passed through Tarsus, as he presumably did, on his way from central Asia Minor to Antioch, where he arrived late in June 129. If this assumption is acceptable, we may go farther and suggest that the billon issues on which he is not yet styled *Pater Patriae* (in its Greek equivalent) might be associated with his first visit to Tarsus, *en route* from Antioch to Caesarea in the autumn of the year 117.¹

At Aegeae, on the other hand, where we have coins dated by the local era (commencing 47 B.C.), tetradrachms were minted at various dates during Hadrian's reign, the earliest bearing the date 164 (= 117-18), with the diademed head of Alexander the Great as reverse type,² and two others, showing an eagle facing, with a goat below, are dated 178 (= 131-2)³ and 180 (= 133-4).⁴ Another type, represented by a specimen in Paris, shows Athena holding a phiale.⁵ At Mopsus, only two types occur on the tetradrachms, namely the facing eagle and the portrait of Sabina,⁶ which so closely resemble in style the two latest Hadrianic silver issues of Tarsus that we may confidently attribute them also to the year 129, and assume that they too were struck on the occasion of the emperor's visit. Somewhat unexpectedly, the eagle-type continues into the reign of Antoninus Pius,⁷ but this is to some extent paralleled at Seleucia, where we have a billon coinage under both Hadrian and Pius, the former with the reverse type of a standing Athena,⁸ the latter with a seated Zeus.⁹ As the weight of the Hadrianic piece (9.5 grammes = 147.4 grains) is close to the average weight of early billon types at Tarsus, we may reasonably add it to the other Cilician city-issues minted in the year 117.

It remains to mention the mint of Amisus, the prosperous *civitas libera ac foederata* at the eastern extremity of the Province of Bithynia-Pontus, which begins, under Hadrian, to supplement its normal bronze currency with silver, mostly of denarius-size, presumably drachmae, as well as occasional didrachms and tridrachms, all with Greek legends and dated by the local era beginning 32-31 B.C. Sabina's

¹ For Hadrian's two visits to Tarsus cf. W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. des Kaisers Hadrianus* (1907), pp. 56 ff. (A.D. 117), 230 (A.D. 129).

² *Inv. Wadd.*, no. 4070.

³ *Ibid.*, no. 4071.

⁴ *BMC op. cit.*, p. 23, no. 22.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. xciv, note 4.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 105 f., nos. 12, 14.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 106, no. 15; *Inv. Wadd.*, no. 4382.

⁸ *Inv. Wadd.*, no. 4455.

⁹ *BMC op. cit.*, p. 131, no. 18.

head sometimes appears on the obverse on the smallest denomination only, and these issues, which seem to have lasted for about four years, begin with the emperor's visit to the city in 131 (= year 163 of the city's era).¹

The cistophoric coinage minted under Hadrian in Bithynia exhibits many points of difference from the issues of the other cities in Asia Minor just described. The metal is invariably silver, the legends are in Latin, the reverse type is limited to one general pattern, but with many minor variants; and lastly there is a simultaneous issue of bronze coinage of similar style, but with Greek legends. On both metals the reverse legends emphasize the fact that the coins emanate from the *Commune Bithyniae* (*Κοινὸν Βεθύνιας*) and that the type on the reverse depicts the temple of Rome, Augustus, and the Senate and People of Rome at Nicomedia, the centre of Caesar-worship for the *Commune*. But it must not be assumed that the *Commune* issued this silver on its own initiative; the use of Latin is a definite proof, and intimation, that the issuing authority is Rome herself, through the provincial governor as the emperor's representative.² The exhaustive study of the varieties in the type of the temple and in the statues sometimes displayed in it, for which we are indebted to the labours of Dr. Clemens Bosch,³ enables us to summarize them as follows: (1) octostyle Corinthian temple with ROMSPAVG on architrave and COM BIT in field; (2) similar, but COM BIT SPR in field; (3) similar temple, with ROMAVG on architrave, SP QR in field, COM BIT in exergue (Pl. VIII, 9); (4) tetrastyle temple, with inscriptions as on nos. 1 and 2, within which statue of an emperor holding Victory and sceptre; (5) similar, but the emperor wears cuirass and boots; (6) a variety not described by Bosch among the silver types, with distyle temple in which the emperor (Augustus) is being crowned by Roma, with a female figure standing to left of the others, presumably the Senate.⁴ Other variant types found only on

¹ Cf. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 265. *BMC Pontus, &c.*, p. 23, no. 93; *Recueil*, i, pl. ix.

² Bosch, *op. cit.*, pp. 174 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 191 ff.

⁴ These are listed under the following numbers in *RIC* ii, pp. 396 f.: (1) = no. 461; (2) = no. 462; (3) not listed, but cf. *BMCRE* no. 1070; also Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, p. 170, no. 12 (pl. i. 11), and Trau Sale Cat. (Hess, Lucerne, 1935), no. 1093; (4) = no. 459; (5) = no. 459 (?); (6) = no. 460, cf. Trau Sale Cat., no. 1095, where it is described as 'Zweisäul. Tempel . . . darin Minerva u. 2 Männerfiguren'.

the bronze issues need not concern us here, but we may confidently accept Bosch's view that on all these pieces it is the same temple that is represented; and that the engraver has sometimes taken the liberty of omitting four, or six, of the central columns in order to display the statues in the interior, just as he has, on the bronze coinage, indicated various types of sculptured ornament in the pediment where space permitted, as on the pieces of sestertius-size. The toga-clad figure on no. 4 should be identified as Augustus, and the cuirassed figure on no. 5 (following again Bosch's suggestion) will be that of Hadrian, whose statue was presumably added to the existing group, but not so as to interfere with it.

Other features of these Bithynian Cistophori which distinguish them from the issues of the cities of Provincia Asia are: the invariable use of the dative case for the obverse legend, although on the official issues of the Roman mint this form does not survive after A.D. 118, the uniformly high standard of the emperor's portrait, and the fact that none of them seems to be overstruck on earlier issues. They must all be dated to 128 or later, as P.P. is a constant element in the obverse legend: an indication that Hadrian's first visit to the Province late in the year 117¹ was not commemorated by a general new coinage. This is less certain, as will be seen later, with regard to his second visit in the summer of 123, to which year may be dated the special provision which he made for the restoration and relief of Nicomedia and Nicaea after the disastrous earthquake of a few years earlier.²

The Hadrianic issues which we have just considered are eclipsed both in numbers and in interest by the Cistophori minted in the Provincia Asia. The detailed analysis of them given in Pinder's monograph is still valuable, but the discovery of further types unknown to him and the more scientific study of the series as a whole have compelled us to modify many of his conclusions as to the mints where these pieces were struck. Imhoof-Blumer, who, in the whole field of ancient numismatics, shed fresh light on everything that he

¹ Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 f.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 127 f., where the sources are quoted. The date of the earthquake is not certain. In dating it to A.D. 123 B. W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian* (1923), is following Dürr's mistaken view that H. was at Nicomedia in 124. As this writer seems not to have known of Weber's *Untersuchungen* (1907) his chronology of the journeys suffers accordingly.

touched, contributed not a little towards a more correct identification of types and mints;¹ and still more recently Hubert Herzfelder, by his diligent study of the obverse dies, based on casts from all the principal public coin-cabinets of Europe, has brought the study of this series to a point beyond which little progress can be hoped for.² Since, moreover, the great majority of these types are inventoried in *Roman Imperial Coinage*,³ and the individual pieces are described in detail in the *British Museum Catalogue*,⁴ it will suffice to summarize Herzfelder's conclusions and classification in tabular form below, adding a few pieces not mentioned by him, with some brief comments.

The exact circumstances in which it was decided to authorize a large number of cities in the Province to strike these cistophoric tetradrachms must remain unknown. That the impetus came from the emperor himself can scarcely be doubted, and that the great majority of these issues are recognizably later than A.D. 128 in view of the addition of P.P. to the emperor's titles, is beyond dispute. What we cannot hope to establish definitely is the system on which cities were selected as mints. Hadrian's own interest in the past history of these cities, large or small, and in particular in their primitive cults, may well have been coupled with a wish—or an insistence—that the original mint-cities of Greek Cistophori in the second century B.C. should revive that activity, as far as possible. But we should entirely misrepresent the purpose and importance of these Cistophori if we ignored his keen interest in the economic welfare of the Province; and some of the cities favoured with the privilege of minting them may have been chosen rather as being important trading-centres.⁵

Herzfelder has rightly rejected the old view of Marquardt that the cities chosen as mints were to be identified with centres of Roman juridical *conventus*,⁶ but it seems to the writer that quite possibly there is a closer connexion than Herzfelder recognizes between these mint-cities and those visited by Hadrian on his two tours in the Province, in 123 and 129. There are, unfortunately, still many gaps and

¹ Especially *Zur gr. u. röm. Münzkunde*, pp. 161–78.

² 'The Cistophori of Hadrian', *NC* 1936, pp. 1–29.

³ *RIC* ii, pp. 397 ff., nos. 463–533.

⁴ *BMCRE* iii, nos. 1051–94.

⁵ Cf. *CAH* xi, pp. 315 ff. (Hadrian's services to Asia Minor); pp. 584 ff. (the economic revival in that region).

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

uncertainties in our knowledge of the routes followed on these occasions, in spite of the laborious researches of Wilhelm Weber,¹ and little fresh evidence has come to light since the publication of his *Untersuchungen* nearly fifty years ago. In the accompanying table

<i>Mints of Greek Cistophori</i>	<i>Hadrian's journeys</i>		<i>Mints of Hadrianic Cistophori</i>
	A.D. 123	A.D. 129	
Adramyttium	Ancyra	Ephesus	Nicomedia
Pergamon	Caesarea-	Magnesia ad	Nicaea(?)
Stratonicea	Hadrianopolis	Macandrum	(Uncertain mint in
Apollonis	Heraclea Pontica	Miletus	Bithynia)
Thyateira	Bithynion-	Mylasa	Pergamon
Sardes	Claudiopolis	Panamara(?)	Thyateira
Smyrna	Prusias	Halicarnassus	Sardes
Phocaea	Nicomedia	Alabanda(?)	Smyrna
Ephesus	Nicaea	Aphrodisias(?)	Ephesus
Tralles	Cius(?)	Attouda(?)	Miletus
Nysa	Hadrianoi ad	Trapezopolis(?)	Mylasa
Hierapolis	Olympum	Tralles	Alabanda
Laodicea	Hadrianeia Mysiae	Hydrela	Aphrodisias
Apamea	Hadrianothrae	Nysa(?)	Nysa
Synnada	Miletopolis	Hierapolis(?)	Hierapolis (Pl. VIII, 8)
KOP-*	Cyzicus	Laodicea	Laodicea
	Parium(?)	Synnada	Apamea(?)
	Priapus(?)	Melissa	Aezanis(?)
	Ilium	Eumenia(?)	Eumenia(?)
	Alexandria Troas	Cibyra	Cibyra(?)
	Pionia(?)	(Through Lycia,	Hypaepa(?)
	Came(?)	Pamphylia and	
	Pergamon	Pisidia to)	
	Lesbos(?)	Antioch ad	
	Stratonicea-	Pisidiam	
	Hadrianopolis	Through Iconium	
	Nacrassa(?)	to Cilicia	
	Thyateira		
	Hermocapella(?)		
	Sardes		
	Smyrna		
	Ephesus		

*An unidentified mint, cf. Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit., p. 162

The following pieces illustrated in Herzfelder's article are not assignable to any known mint. Pl. iii. 3, 5, 6, 7; Pl. v. 6, 9; Pl. vi. 4, 5, 9; Pl. vii. 1, 2 (wrongly cited in his text, p. 24, as Pl. vi. 1, 2).

Of the places in cols. 2 and 3 marked with a double query(?), Lesbos may have been visited on another occasion, and Alabanda, Aphrodisias, Nysa, and Hierapolis, besides being mints for his Cistophori, are famous cult-centres, lying on or near Hadrian's presumed route, which we may assume that he visited, although there is no direct evidence.

¹ Op. cit., pp. 119-42, 211-31, and summary of all H.'s travels, pp. 277-9.

I have set out in parallel columns the mint-cities of the Greek Cistophori, the cities visited by Hadrian in the order (as far as can be determined) of the routes which he followed, and lastly the mint-cities identified, or suggested as probable, by Herzfelder. The coins for which he has no likely suggestion are briefly analysed below.

We need not hesitate to follow him in transferring to Bithynian mints more than one group hitherto assigned to mints in the Province of Asia: these are (1) a couple of pieces sharing the same obverse die, on which the bust of Hadrian is laureate and cuirassed and of exceptionally fine artistic quality, and the legend is in the dative, in the same form as on the issues of the *Commune Bithyniae*; the reverse dies show a bunch of six ears of corn, and Ceres standing, respectively;¹ (2) a group distinguished by the portrait facing to left, on one of which the legend is again in the dative, while on the other it has the usual form HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P.P.; the reverses include a bunch of five ears of corn as well as one of six, a standing figure of *Pax*, and COS III within a laurel-wreath;² (3) a group which is assigned to Nicomedia, with laureate head to r. and legend HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS only; the reverses include Hera (?) standing with a prow at her feet; Poseidon standing to r., resting his foot on a prow; a legionary Eagle on *fulmen* between two standards, and a poppy surrounded by four ears of corn;³ (4) a fine portrait, which however is not laureate and includes the title P.P., has as reverse a well-modelled figure of the Farnese Hercules,⁴ which is assigned to Cius or Heraclea Pontica; but the fact that the head is bare tells somewhat against the attribution to a Bithynian city, and if a mint in Asia is preferable one might suggest Cibyra, where a very similar Hercules is found on a bronze coin of Antoninus Pius.⁵

The absence of the title P.P. from the coins given to Nicomedia (No. (3), above) would seem to indicate that its mint for Cistophori was already active before A.D. 128, and that these issues are to be associated with the emperor's earlier visit to the city in 123 (mistakenly dated by Herzfelder (*op. cit.*, p. 27) to A.D. 125), and may represent part of the subsidy provided for the victims of the earthquake mentioned above. But if Nicomedia was thus favoured we might

¹ Herzfelder, *op. cit.*, pl. vii, nos. 3, 4.

² *Op. cit.*, pl. vii, nos. 5, 6.

³ *Op. cit.*, pl. vii, nos. 9, 10, 11. ⁴ *Op. cit.*, pl. vii, no. 7. ⁵ *Inv. Wadd.*, no. 5829.

expect that Nicaea, another victim of this disaster, received similar attention; and we might assign to it the small group with the unusual obverse legend *AVGVSTVS HADRIANVS* and on the reverse *P.M. TR P. COS III* accompanying types of Fortuna seated and Ceres standing, with sceptre.¹ If this issue may be reasonably given to Nicaea and dated to 123, we may proceed to assign to the same mint in 128 or later the group associated by Herzfelder on stylistic grounds with the first two pieces. This includes an obverse type with *AVGVSTVS HADRIANVS P.P.* and a standing Fortuna with the same uncommon reverse legend *P.M. TR P. COS III*.² As both these issues are struck on new flans, this seems an additional reason for venturing to differ from Herzfelder, who classes them under the mints of Asia.³

The important fact, for which we are indebted to Herzfelder's studies, that cities in Bithynia minted Cistophori of the 'Asiatic' class both before and after A.D. 128 leads us to ask whether this may not have been equally true of cities in the Province of Asia. As possible examples we may note a draped, but not laureate, portrait of the emperor without *P.P.* after his name, linked with two reverse dies (Zeus seated to r., and Pax standing with sceptre and branch).⁴ Herzfelder, who assigns them on stylistic grounds to Pergamum, does not decide whether the omission of *P.P.* indicates a date before 128 or an inaccuracy of the engraver. As both these pieces, as well as a third, to be mentioned later, are clearly the work of a highly skilled artist, the charge of inaccuracy would seem rather far-fetched. Moreover, there are certain obverse dies from other mints on which it would appear that the letters *P.P.* have been crowded in at a later date as an addition to the original legend,⁵ as though they had been used both before and after the year 128.

The various pieces on which the figure of Diana Ephesia appears, whether standing free or in a temple, exhibit so many varieties of style that several mints must be represented;⁶ and it is preferable to

¹ Herzfelder, *op. cit.*, pl. vi, nos. 6, 7.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 23 f.

³ *Op. cit.*, pl. ii, nos. 3, 4; pl. iii, no. 5.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pl. vi, nos. 8, 11.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pl. iv, nos. 9, 10.

⁶ A fuller examination of all the pieces with Ephesian types would be a valuable undertaking, for which it would be necessary to compare, and check, the list of bronze coins of Asiatic cities on which these types occur, given in *RE*, s.v. 'Ephesia'. One of Herzfelder's pieces (pl. iii, no. 5), for which he considers Ephesus as a possible mint, exhibits the cult-statue of Diana in an ornate tetrastyle temple with the blundered legend *DIAHA EPHESIA*,

limit the Ephesian issues to the examples on which the obverse legend is HADRIANVS AVG. COS III. P.P. (Pl. VIII, 7). It would not be possible, or appropriate to the present occasion, to attempt to suggest attributions for the many reverse types of pieces for which Herzfelder has none to offer, but that further progress in this direction may still be hoped for is indicated by the publication of a few types not included in his survey. These are: (1) Bust to r., draped and cuirassed, not laureate, HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS: reverse, a young male god standing to l., with right shoulder bare and arm resting on sceptre, and holding some narrow object upright in left hand.¹ The style of the portrait and the omission of P.P. connect this closely with the two coins assigned above to Pergamum,² and a further point of resemblance is the curiously wide spacing of the figures III to balance that of COS on the reverse, as on the second of the above pieces. (2) Head to l., laureate, HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P.P.: reverse, legionary Eagle between two standards each surmounted by an open hand, COS III horizontally in field.³ (3) Similar head and legend (not same die) but similar exaggerated truncation with long point in front: reverse, ornate hexastyle Corinthian temple, legend as on no. 2.⁴ It is obvious that both these belong to the Bithynian group (of uncertain mint).⁵ (4) Reverse, Zeus seated half-right in distyle temple,⁶ for which it seems impossible to suggest a mint or a close parallel on a city issue in bronze.

It is not necessary to call further attention to the large number of mints from which these Hadrianic Cistophori were issued, or to the marked prevalence of over-strikes. It is well known that they were frequently struck on Cistophori of Antony (with, as on Pl. VIII, 7, or without the jugate portrait of Octavia), and very frequently on

accompanying the laureate head of Hadrian; this looks more like the product of some more humble mint in Lydia or Phrygia. Another, more surprising, blunder in the reverse legend can be found among the illustrations to Charles Seltman's illuminating article 'The Wardrobe of Artemis', *NC* 1952, pl. v, no. 9, where the cult-image, on a piece of definitely Ephesian minting, bears the legend DIANIA EPHESIA.

¹ Basle Sale, *Mzh.* 10, no. 608 (Magnaguti Cat., 'Ex Nummis Historia', no. 651).

² p. 168, n. 4, above.

³ Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit., p. 166, no. 29; pl. ii, no. 10.

⁴ Scheyer Sale Cat. (Hess, Frankfurt, vii. 1913), no. 614 = Vierordt Sale Cat. (Schulman, 1923), no. 1308.

⁵ p. 167, no. 2, above.

⁶ Magnaguti Cat., no. 652.

those of Augustus, especially the group attributed to Ephesus (above, p. 153). Of later issues the under-type is occasionally recognizable as belonging to one or other of the group struck under Claudius.¹ One can only offer a conjecture for this practice, but perhaps rapidity of execution was a contributory cause, since to import fresh bullion and to prepare dies and mint-apparatus for cities unaccustomed to issue silver coinage might have been a slow process. Moreover, the consideration that many of the pieces dating back to Augustus or earlier were in a very worn condition after 150 or more years of circulation cannot be ignored. But it is equally clear that there was no compulsory calling-in of these earlier pieces or of the Greek Cistophori which preceded them, in view of the numbers that have survived to our day. Nor is there any evidence for the over-striking of the Cistophori of the Flavians, Nerva or Trajan, to my knowledge. We may accordingly conclude that the issues of this class struck by Antony and Augustus were still circulating freely at the time of Hadrian's visits to Asia Minor; and in turn the prevalently worn condition of his new issues suggests that they continued in circulation down to the end of the second century, if not later.

It remains to mention the small group of cistophoric pieces, of approximately the same weight as those described above, but sometimes struck on smaller, thicker flans, which date from the period of Severus. They must be the product of some Eastern mint—or perhaps more than one—still unidentified. The earliest is dated to the sixth *tribunicia potestas* of Severus (A.D. 198) and the coin of Caracalla as COS.II. (A.D. 205) is presumably the latest. That the issue was not large is proved both by the rarity of this series and by the existence of certain die-links which establish the identity of the mint for several of the pieces. These links are: (1) the same obverse die shared by (a) BMCRE v, no. 758 (reverse, legionary Eagle and two standards, with legend AVGVS TORVM), (b) op. cit., no. 759 (reverse, Victory flying to l. holding wreath over shield on low base, with legend VICTORIA AVGVSTI), and (c) the (unique?) piece (reverse, lighted altar, with legend SALVTI AVG, op. cit., p. 304 ‡ =

¹ e.g. Trau Sale Cat., no. 1108 (= Herzfelder, pl. ii, no. 4 = Magnaguti Cat., no. 659) on a coin of Claudius and Agrippina; Magnaguti Cat., no. 661 on a coin of Claudius with temple of Diana Ephesia.

Consul Weber Sale (Hirsch, 10. v. 1909) no. 1834); (2) the reverse die of this Victory is also used with obverse of Caracalla (with head r., laur. (Bachofen v. Echt Colln., no. 1724 = Imhoof-Blumer, *Zur gr. u. röm. Mzkd.*, p. 177, and pl. ii, 13); and (3) this obverse die of Caracalla is also used with the reverse type showing his titles within a laurel-wreath (*BMCRE* v, p. 305† = Bachofen v. Echt, no. 1669), as pointed out by Imhoof-Blumer, loc. cit. To this linked group we may surely add *BMCRE* v, no. 761 with head of Caracalla to l., laureate, and legionary Eagle with standards but legend COS II, in a style identical with that of the Severan piece (*ibid.*, no. 758, no. 1, above), and we may further assume that the two pieces with the imperial titles of Severus and his son (*BMCRE* v, p. 304† and p. 305†) are likewise contemporary. This provides us with a closely-linked group dated to A.D. 205, leaving us with a few unlinked pieces: the first of these gives TR.P.VI among Severus' titles, with the reverse type of a crescent and seven stars, with legend AETERNITAS (*BMCRE* v, p. 304*) dating from A.D. 198, and the unique piece with Roma seated to l. (*ibid.* no. 760), of which the portrait of Severus, though slightly larger, seems of similar style to those found under no. (1) above.

The two unusual pieces of Julia Domna which must belong to this group are obviously not contemporary with each other, for that with the reverse type of the Capitoline Temple with its triad of deities has the obverse legend IVLIA DOMNA AVG.¹ whilst the other, with a bunch of five corn-ears and the legend MATRI CASTR., gives her title as IVLIA AVGVSTA.² The former might reasonably be associated with the AETERNITAS coin of Severus, and the latter with the more extensive issue of A.D. 205, but this conjecture would be difficult to confirm. In any case it is unlikely that coins with the portrait of Julia Domna would be struck at a mint which was not also striking for Severus or Caracalla, but these two types, which have no parallels among the official issues of Rome or any of the Eastern mints, are certainly hard to account for. Whilst the latter is perhaps to be explained as a hybrid derived from a confusion of the ears of corn type and the standards which sometimes appear behind the altar at which the empress is sacrificing on one of the regular MATER

¹ *BMCRE* v, p. 305*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 305†.

(MATRI) CASTRORVM types,¹ the choice of the Capitoline Temple was perhaps due to a deliberate adaptation of the reverse of the Cistophorus of Domitian described above (p. 157); if so, it would indicate that the latter pieces were still circulating and known to the engraver of Julia Domna's coin-die more than a century later. There need be no difficulty in this assumption, in view of the even longer period of circulation established for the Cistophori of Antony and of Augustus, as has been observed above (p. 170).

To what extent the Cistophori circulated outside the Provinces in which they were minted must remain largely a matter of conjecture, owing to the lack of adequate evidence. Specimens of the Augustan series were noted by Professor Michael Grant in Pisidia, Lycaonia, and as far afield as Melitene, in addition to those seen within, or close to, the boundaries of the Province of Asia.² The only hoard of which I have found mention is that reported by Imhoof-Blumer as having been found near Pisidian Antioch, and consisting of numerous excellently-preserved silver (Cistophori) of the three Flavian emperors, Julia Titi, and Domitia, together with (less numerous) uncirculated denarii of Nero, Otho, and Vitellius.³ It is noteworthy that the late Sir George Hill's account of the coins found at that city did not include any silver pieces at all;⁴ and that in the American excavations at Sardes the only imperial Cistophori discovered comprised two of Antony and one each of Augustus and Claudius, as well as one denarius each of Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, and Trajan, and two of Hadrian.⁵

Farther east the miscellaneous collection from Tarsus published by Miss Dorothy Cox includes no Cistophori and only two silver pieces of Geta from the mint of Caesarea;⁶ at Dura, not surprisingly, there

¹ e.g. *op. cit.*, p. 309, no. 774.

² *FITA* p. xv.; in reply to an inquiry, Professor Grant writes 'of later pieces (than Augustan) I have noted no finds. My impression (which I could not in any way justify) is that Augustan tetradrachms circulated pretty widely—after all there was no competition yet from Caesarea—and Hadrianic ones in a more limited area (Claudian and Domitianic are seen much less frequently than either)'.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 169; his original attribution to Antioch ad Maeandrum is corrected on p. 272.

⁴ *NC* 1914, pp. 290 ff.

⁵ *Sardis*, vol. xiv, *The Coins*, by H. W. Bell (1916), nos. 422–35 (except 425 and 426 which are bronze coins of Augustus).

⁶ *NNM* 92 (1941).

were no Cistophori, and Caesarea is represented by four pieces only, one tridrachm and three drachmae of Trajan¹ (Sydenham, op. cit., nos. 180, 185, 198, 218). As a slight indication that the silver coinage of Caesarea did not travel westwards in large quantities we may note its complete absence from the finds at Sardes;² and also that Dr. Stanley Robinson acquired only one example (a hemidrachm of Hadrian, Sydenham, op. cit., no. 260) when travelling in Lycia and Pamphylia in 1911.³

From this sadly meagre material we might nevertheless conclude that for small change in silver in western Asia Minor the issues of Caesarea played quite an unimportant part, and that the need was met under the Flavian emperors partly by denarii from the mint of Ephesus but much more completely by those from the Roman mint. The position under Hadrian is much more convincingly illustrated by the interesting inscription from Pergamon, which deals in minute detail with the rate of exchange between locally-minted *asses* and denarii, and leaves us in no doubt that at any rate in his reign the ordinary denarii from the mint of Rome represented the smaller silver currency in circulation at that important centre.⁴

¹ A. R. Bellinger, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos . . . Final Report vi: The Coins*, p. 100, nos. 2066-9.

² Cf. p. 172, n. 5 above.

³ *JHS* 1914, p. 40.

⁴ Dittenberger, *OGIS* 484, ll. 9 ff. An excellent photograph of this stele will be found in G. Klaffenbach's discussion of *Die Astynomeninschrift von Pergamon*, *Abhandl. der Deutsch. Akad. der Wissensch. zu Berlin (Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1953, nr. 6)*, Tafel II.

X

FLEXIBILITY IN THE 'REFORMED' COINAGE OF DIOCLETIAN

By C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

DIOCLETIAN's reform of the coinage preserved the essential pattern of many revolutionary processes. That is to say, its very spaciousness of conception was the means of imposing a considerable number of limitations. Its primary purpose, of course, was to ward off any continuation or recurrence of the grievous monetary instability which had clouded the economics of the empire and the fortunes of so many of its citizens for half a century and more.¹ But a secondary object was assuredly the unification of the imperial coinage through the suppression of those peripheral issues, mainly 'Greco-Roman', and including the Alexandrian series, which must have done as much then to complicate regional accountancy as they certainly do now to complicate, in our cabinets, the purely physical arrangement of the Roman imperial coinage.² Like every other important phase of the Roman coinage, the reform has claimed the attention and the prodigiously active pen of the great scholar whom all authors in this volume combine to honour.³ If I here offer to Harold Mattingly some comments on Diocletian's reform it is not because I regard them as much more than introductory, but rather because Mattingly himself may take characteristic interest from the observation of a master-plan for coinage, which changed and nearly dissolved under the heavy stresses which a great empire put upon it.

¹ The condition of the imperial currency from A.D. 270 onwards has recently been examined by H. Mattingly in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in honor of Allan Chester Johnson* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 275 ff.

² These questions have received attention in the present volume (pp. 137 ff.) from A. R. Bellinger, who points out the economic advantages to be gained from imperial unification of coinage.

³ See NC 1946, pp. 110 ff.

The imperial coinage, extensively remodelled by Augustus,¹ and slightly inflated by Nero in the latter part of his reign,² continued thereafter with comparatively little downward change in quality until the Severan period. Caracalla's introduction of the double-denarius³—a step from which subsequent recovery was apparently impossible⁴—accelerated the sharper decline in stability which culminated in something not far removed from financial disaster after A.D. 250, when the double-denarius, now thinly washed with silver instead of being a silver-alloy piece, was struck in immense quantities to masquerade as the silver link theoretically needed to stand between gold on the one hand and true *aes* on the other. If Aurelian and Probus improved the monetary structure to some small extent, they did little more. The monetary economy which faced Diocletian upon his accession in A.D. 284 was one of frightening insecurity.

It is not the purpose of this paper to examine the economic and metrological character of Diocletian's reform of the coinage. Of its details, indeed, it is still impossible to speak with any certainty. It has left no more explicit record than is accorded by the coins themselves⁵ which, as we know, were produced at London, Treveri, Lugdunum, Aquileia, Ticinum,⁶ Rome, Siscia, Serdica, Thessalonica, Heraclea, Cyzicus, Nicomedia, Antioch, Alexandria, and Carthage.⁷ We cannot say with assurance when the reform took place. Attempts have been made to assign it to 294 or 295 or 296,⁸ but it may in fact

¹ *BMCRE* i, pp. xlv ff., xcii ff.; *FITA*, *passim*; *CRIP*, pp. 27 ff.

² *BMCRE* i, pp. xlv ff.; West, *NNM* 94, pp. 53 ff. It is hoped that further information will be provided by the current researches of Mr. D. W. MacDowall.

³ *BMCRE* v, pp. xvii f.

⁴ No double-denarii were struck by Severus Alexander or by Maximinus I. But they were coined again in mass by Balbinus and Pupienus and their successors. Cf. *RIC* iv (2), v, *passim*.

⁵ It is claimed that its effect is to be seen in P. Rylands, *Gk. Inv.* 650: cf. C. H. Roberts and H. Mattingly, 'ITAAIKON NOMISMA' in *TINC* 1936, pp. 246 ff.; J. G. Milne, 'On P. Oslo 82 and the depreciation of currency', *JEA* 23, pp. 258 f.; to this should be added the indirect and implicit evidence of Diocletian's *edictum de maximis pretiis*.

⁶ The attribution of the mint signing T to Ticinum, rather than to Tarraco, is now generally accepted and appears to be substantiated by circulation-evidence: cf. J. Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne*, ii (Paris, 1911), pp. 197 ff., especially pp. 208 ff.; O. Voetter in *Monatsblatt der Num. Gesellsch. in Wien* 1903, pp. 135 ff., and *NZ* 1926, pp. 145 ff.; K. Pink in *NZ* 1930, p. 19, especially note 4.

⁷ There was also a short-lived mint at Iantinum (mod. Meaux): cf. Pink in *NZ* 1931, pp. 37 f., and W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, i (Paris, 1946), p. 102, note 1.

⁸ See *RIC* v (2), p. 206: the date 296 is accepted without question by Mattingly in

be misleading to seek any one date for it. Weighings of Diocletian's gold coins have suggested that his aureus with the new mark Ξ (i.e. struck at the rate of 60 to the pound of gold, as compared with the rate of 70 shown by the previous Θ -marked aureus) appeared about 286, and was thereafter both dominant and relatively abundant.¹ His new silver pieces, however, some of which are specifically marked XCVI = $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a pound of silver,² are not thought to precede 293 or 294.³ The large pieces of copper, sometimes found with a silvery coating, and now known as folles,⁴ may have made their first appearance in 294 or 296,⁵ but it seems probable that they did not in any case appear simultaneously at all mints at which folles are known to have been struck.⁶ Even the relationship of value between the new aureus, the new silver piece, and the new follis is uncertain, and continues to be a matter of active dispute,⁷ depending as it does mainly upon a passage in the *edictum de maximis pretiis* which is itself variously interpreted.⁸ With so much unknown the true economic character of the reform must remain obscured. All that can be said with safety is that in the decade A.D. 286–96 Diocletian produced a new and heavier aureus, a new silver piece, of the weight of the old Neronian denarius, and a new copper piece of about 10 gm. weight, together with subsidiary and fractional pieces. It would not be surprising if the 'reform' was in fact a ten-year process, taking place in the order gold–silver–copper.⁹ Nor would it be unnatural if its application varied in time from place to place over the impressive number of mints which Diocletian and his partners put to work in the light of their wide military operations and subsequent consolidation.¹⁰

NC 1946, p. 112. I deal with this point in *JRS* 1955, pp. 116 ff. See also *Bull. de la soc. franç. de numismatique*, Nov. 1954, pp. 307 f. (H. A. Cahn).

¹ West, *NNM* 94, pp. 183 ff.; Pink in *NZ* 1931, p. 57.

² See below, p. 183.

³ 293, Pink in *NZ* 1930, p. 38, &c.; 294, West, *NNM* 94, p. 186.

⁴ Cf. Hultsch, *Metr. Script. Rel.* i, pp. 308 f.; Schrötter, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, p. 200. The question whether the follis was deliberately designed either to contain silver or even to show a 'silver-washed' surface has recently been examined critically by H. L. Adelson in *MN* vi, 1954, pp. 111 ff.

⁵ Cf. p. 175, n. 8, above.

⁶ e.g. Siscia, Serdica, and Carthage were later than other mints in producing folles.

⁷ The immense literature which has grown up is mainly listed by Mattingly, *NC* 1946, pp. 118 ff.: see also, recently, West in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, p. 290 ff.

⁸ West, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

⁹ Pink (*NZ* 1931, p. 57) suggests a similar interpretation.

¹⁰ Seston, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.

The general tendency to attempt the recognition of Diocletian's reform in a single, clear-cut operation is due above all to the introduction of the follis—a massive phenomenon, the impact of which on modern scholarship suggests how great its original significance may also have been. This new coin bore a reverse-type which was nearly uniform—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI, the Genius of the Roman People standing left, holding patera and cornucopiae.¹ It is true, indeed, as has been noted, that the new denomination may not have been introduced quite simultaneously at all the mints which struck it. And it was not struck with absolute universality: Carthage, which Maximian entered in triumph in March 298 after his Mauretanian offensive, opened her series of folles with the *Felix adventus Augg. nn.* type which was to be seen also on her gold and silver,² and never struck the *Genio populi Romani* type at all; and Treveri interrupted the *genius* type to strike a *Fortunae reduci* type, which looked to Constantius in Britain and Maximian in Africa. Nevertheless, the fact remains that at every other mint—including that anonymous mint, without signature, which probably operated in Britain³—the *Genio populi Romani* reverse was uniformly employed.

It is worth considering the impact of this type when it thus appeared from end to end of the empire. The word *genius*⁴ is connected with the root of the verb *gigno*, and signifies something that is productive. It is also protective, and, because it is protective, it is to be associated with that part of life which is pleasant and enjoyable: a *genius* thus receives offerings of wine and flowers. Every human being created has his *genius*; and there is, moreover, a *genius* which watches over all the different kinds of human groups. Every *genius*—a *deus* and a *comes* in itself—is also *deorum filius* and *parens hominum*.

¹ In his first appearance on folles Genius wears a modius on his head and a chlamys over his shoulders: substitution of a turreted crown for the modius, and of a himation (draped round the loins) for the chlamys, is to be seen on some later issues. These and other differing details of treatment are probably to be attributed to differences in sculptural prototypes: cf. E. T. Leeds, *A Hoard of Roman Folles . . . found at Fyfield, Berks.* (Oxford, 1946), p. 19.

² Seston, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 ff.; Pink, *NZ* 1930, pp. 18 f., 1931, pp. 22 f.; Elmer, *NZ* 1932, pp. 23 ff. Seston rightly notes the abandonment of the normal equestrian *adventus* type in favour of the personification of Africa, and observes that the plural *Augg.* does not suggest that Maximian was accompanied by Diocletian.

³ Leeds, *op. cit.*, p. 27: there is no doubt that 'unmarked' folles occur commonly in British-found hoards.

⁴ See Hild in Daremberg-Saglio and Otto in *RE* vii, s.v.

It follows, of course, that there was a *genius Iovialis*.¹ For the man in the street a *genius*—so nearly akin to *lares* and *numina*—suggested a divinity possessed of all degrees of reality and acting both as parent and guardian; and by Diocletian's time the cult of *genii* was already of considerable antiquity.

Various *genii* had been recorded on the coinage of Rome in the past—*Genius Augusti* under Nero, Commodus, Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus, Quintillus, and Tetricus; *Genius Senatus* under Antoninus Pius and Caracalla; the *genius* of the army under Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus, Aurelian, and Carinus, and of the army of Illyricum under Trajan Decius; the *genius* of the province of Illyricum under Trajan Decius, of the province of Britain under Carausius, of the city of Lugdunum under Clodius Albinus.² *Genius populi Romani* had a long monetary history. He had appeared on the late Republican coinage in the guise of a bearded, middle-aged man.³ The same symbolism was to be seen again in the civil wars following Nero's death,⁴ but by then a different conception was becoming general, showing the *genius* younger, draped with toga or chlamys or himation, sacrificing from a patera (sometimes over an altar) and holding a cornucopiae⁵—that act of harmless devotion made with wine and flowers to the *genius* himself.⁶ This new version prevailed under the Flavians, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Septimius Severus. Thereafter *Genius populi Romani* disappeared from the coinage, his place being taken by the *genii* of the Augusti, the armies and the provinces amidst the struggles of which the Roman people received but scant regard.

Such was the background against which the GENIO POPVLI ROMANI type suddenly blazed, from one end of the empire to the other, under Diocletian. Its emphatic revival at a time when, for over half a century, it had yielded place to *genius* types celebrating the personalities of emperors, armies, or provinces declares its significance. This significance becomes all the clearer for the modern observer when he remembers the immense 'pool' of virtually standard

¹ Amobius iii. 40.

² The incidence of these *genius* types can be conveniently traced in the indexes of *BMCRE* and *RIC*.

³ *BMCR* ii, p. 358, no. 52, with pl. 100, 12: see also the comments of A. Alföldi above, pp. 82, 87, 93.

⁴ *BMCRE* i, p. 295, no. 21, with pl. 50, 10.

⁵ *BMCRE* i, p. 288, no. 1 (and note *), with pl. 49, 12-15. ⁶ See above, p. 177.

types which, by this recourse to a single, virtually uniform type, were suddenly abandoned and excluded from the follis coinage. Abundantia, Aequitas, Annona, Concordia, Felicitas, Fortuna, Hilartas, Laetitia, Liberalitas, Libertas, Pax, Pietas, Providentia, Salus, Securitas, Spes, Victoria, Virtus, and many others had for years appeared on the silver-washed double-denarii. Now these were swept away from the follis which succeeded. The object of this was, no doubt, partly to persuade the public that the follis was not a disguised continuation of the double-denarius. But it went farther than that. This world-coinage, with its GENIO POPVLI ROMANI legend in the dedicatory or honorary dative, and with its traditional representation of the Roman people's creative and protective spirit, was quite certainly intended to emphasize the unity, uniformity, and 'Roman-ness' of the new administration, with its control of a vast and heterogeneous Greco-Roman empire.¹ Similar appeals for unity had been made by the *Genius populi Romani* type at the time of Galba and Vespasian. Under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius the type stood no longer as an appeal but as a statement of accomplished fact. With Severus, again, the note of appeal crept in; and now, after half a century of incessant division and constant weakness, Diocletian invoked the essentially Roman spirit of unity once more. He did so as the chief among four colleagues, each of whom appears impartially on the *Genio populi Romani* folles:² it was as if Diocletianus Iovius was the *genius Iovialis* which had created the Roman people afresh and was now to preserve them by his *tutela*.³

The follis, struck in great quantities, was essentially the 'people's coin'—mass-produced for world-wide use: fractional *aes* denominations in use beside it were of small importance numerically. On this ubiquitous 'people's coin' was thus shown (with a uniformity not seen since the time of Alexander the Great) the people's guiding spirit, strong through universal agreement.⁴ In this sense, indeed, the new

¹ Cf. W. Ensslin, *CAH* xii, pp. 326, 406.

² In view of the approval by Seston, *op. cit.*, p. 212, of A. Alföldi's development of the theme of theocratic absolutism it must be noted that the Diocletianic coinage (i.e. that of Diocletian himself and of his three colleagues) shows the Augusti and the Caesars portrayed, as a rule, in the plainest possible form—'head to right, laureate'.

³ See p. 178, above.

⁴ Seston, *op. cit.*, p. 208: 'l'usurpateur est celui qui se sépare du *consensus omnium* que symbolise le *Genius populi Romani* sur tant de monnaies de la Tétrarchie.'

follis coinage was certainly the most conspicuous element in Diocletian's reform; and even when some mints, about A.D. 300, deserted the *genius* type for that of *Sacra moneta Augg. et Caess. nn.*, which fought to preserve the stability of the follis at a time of rising prices, the eastern mints of the empire, where Diocletian's influence was strongest, held fast to the *genius* type.

However, the virtually world-wide uniformity of the reverse of the new follis (accentuated as it was by the normally fourfold set of accompanying obverses, one for each of the tetrarchs) was not to be seen in the 'reformed' gold. It must, of course, be remembered that unlike the follis—a newly introduced denomination with no previous tradition of types—gold was a continuation (though on a changed standard) of an already existing series. Moreover, the production of the new aureus was by no means simultaneous at all the mints which struck it.¹ Rome, Ticinum, Siscia, Cyzicus, and Antioch struck it early. The mint of Treveri came next—coining it in great quantities, as it was also to coin silver and folles, in connexion with Constantius' military operations in the north-west. Aquileia, Nicomedia, Alexandria, and Carthage followed; and Thessalonica was the last to produce it—a good many years later than Rome. In these circumstances type-uniformity was hardly to be expected. And indeed it was not achieved even in those mints which were striking gold simultaneously. Apart from a common stratum of types or legends which emphasized the Jovian and Herculan qualities of Diocletian and Maximian,² it is quite clear that each mint followed a substantially independent choice of types for its gold, doubtless dictated independently by local officials.

To some extent this dictation was regional in its scope. An obvious illustration of this fact is to be seen in the employment of the *FATIS VICTRICIBVS* type at Cyzicus and Antioch. The theory of the *vis fatalis* which raised a man up to imperial status, overcoming all obstacles inherent either in the destined emperor himself or in his would-be rivals, was certainly no new one.³ But its advertisement

¹ See Pink, *NZ* 1931, pp. 1 ff.

² See below, pp. 182 f.

³ Cf. Seston, *op. cit.*, p. 393, citing *SHA. Heliog.* 34: Seston observes that the implementing of *fatum* in the creating of an emperor guarantees succession by that emperor's ability to appoint successors. Thus the type in question, while never used for the Caesars, alludes to the conditions under which they will succeed to power.

on the coinage was new, and this advertisement appeared in the eastern territories where Diocletian's influence was paramount. Even so, there was no strict uniformity in its appearance. At Cyzicus the type was struck for Diocletian alone, and showed the three Fates holding cornucopiae.¹ At Antioch, on the other hand, it was struck for Diocletian and Maximian, and the three Fates were shown linking hands.² It is plain that something like a regional order was sent out to the two mints in question, requiring them to give expression to the imperial *fata*, but that the detailed treatment of the conception was left to the choice of the mints individually.

But the scope could also be much narrower in its operation. Cyzicus, for example, put great emphasis on *concordia* by means of its CONCORDIA AVGG, CONCORDIAE AVGG NN, and CONCORDIAE MILITVM types.³ This may be regarded as an extension, in some sense, of the *concordia* type which appeared so commonly on the Cyzicene double-denarii;⁴ but the Antiochene double-denarii also bore *concordia* types very commonly,⁵ and yet the gold of Antioch made no allusion to *concordia*—which, in fact, did not figure at any other mint except Aquileia.⁶ In the gold of almost every mint, however, we can observe shades of emphasis which are conspicuously individual. PROVIDENTIA AVGG, for instance, was restricted to Rome, where—with VIRTVS MILITVM—it echoed the types and the message of Diocletian's reformed silver pieces.⁷ Of these two types Ticinum produced only the latter.⁸ Aquileia struck, uniquely, an addition to that rare range of types couched (like Carausius' famous examples)⁹ in the imperative—GAVDETE ROMANI.¹⁰ FIDES MILITVM appeared only at Cyzicus:¹¹ *pietas* and *salus* types were restricted to Gaul,¹² where, indeed, we find at Treveri all the originality and initiative which is natural in a new and swiftly expanding mint. Treveri varied the normal range of Jovian and Herculian types with IOVI TVTAT AVGG and HERCVLI

¹ Pink, NZ 1931, pp. 40 f.: Seston, op. cit., p. 394, appears to suggest that Cyzicus struck the type for Maximian also, and future observation might indeed record it.

² Pink, NZ 1931, p. 47.

³ Ibid., pp. 40 f.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 255 f.

⁵ Ibid., p. 22, and see below, p. 183.

⁶ RIC v (2), p. 483, no. 216, &c.

⁷ Ibid., p. 43.

⁸ RIC v (2), p. 253.

⁹ Pink, NZ 1931, pp. 26, 47 ff.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 25.

¹¹ Pink, NZ 1931, p. 26.

¹² Ibid., pp. 28 f., 37.

INMORTALI—neither of them found elsewhere:¹ its PACATORES GENTIVM and PAX AETERNA, likewise, are conceptions not shared with any other mint.² Siscia is conspicuous for its emphasis on Mars ('propugnator' and 'pacifer'):³ Antioch, for its preoccupation with carefully dated reverse-types showing Diocletian and Maximian in the ceremonial grandeur of consular office.⁴

Even in the basic stratum of types referring to the Jovian-Herculian partnership of Diocletian and Maximian⁵ there are, on the gold, wide variations in the choice both of types and of legends. The very partnership itself, of course, is one of the most conspicuous features of the Tetrarchy. Attribution to Maximian of qualities amounting to his association with a hero from whom he might be said to have been sprung was not entirely new: Hercules had, as has been noted,⁶ played the part of *consors* and *comes* for Aurelian and Probus, and indeed the whole history of the imperial cult had constantly blurred the distinctions between the gods on the one hand and the emperors, through whom they worked, on the other hand. But the epithet *Jovius*, as used by Diocletian, was novel, for previously it had been applied only to gods, and to Hercules and Venus above all, who were descended from Jupiter.⁷ By adopting the epithet for himself Diocletian went beyond the normal and conventional stage in which emperors had placed themselves under the protection of the father of gods and men. He was henceforth the son of Jupiter, just as Maximian was the son of Hercules;⁸ and, because Jupiter was the father of Hercules, Diocletian stood in a senior, paternalistic relationship towards Maximian, who was to perform (as junior partner) his 'labours of Hercules' on behalf of a Diocletian whose authority was superior and absolute.⁹ In view of the clear distinctions which therefore existed between the members of this political hierarchy it is interesting to note the extent to which Jovian types are given to Maximian and Constantius—at Treveri, Ticinum, Rome, Cyzicus, and Antioch—and Herculian types to Diocletian and Galerius—at Treveri, Ticinum,

¹ Pink, NZ 1931, pp. 32, 34.

² Ibid., pp. 53 ff.

³ Cf., recently, H. Mattingly in *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 1952, pp. 151 ff.

⁴ By Seston, op. cit., p. 213.

⁵ Ibid., p. 215.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 217, 233: for the corresponding position of the Caesars, *ibid.*, p. 215.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 34, 36.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 48 ff.

⁹ Ibid.

Siscia, and Antioch.¹ While it is obvious that, in a mint which is striking any two reverse types in conjunction with a double portrait-series, 'muled' coins may result from confusion of dies and that there is in addition a very real proportion of coins still to be found,² it must nevertheless be clear that there was, from mint to mint, a general flexibility of idiom and variation of usage. The same feature is to be seen in the epithets variously applied at different mints to Jupiter and Hercules. The *Iovi fulgatori* legend is peculiar to Treveri and Rome: *Iovi ultori* and *Herculi ultori* to Antioch. Hercules, normally *victor*, appears as *debellator* at Treveri, Rome, and Siscia; and his epithet *conservator* is confined almost wholly to Treveri, Aquileia, and Ticinum.

The extent of freedom in the choice or adaptation of types for the reformed gold thus contrasts strongly with the virtual uniformity of the initial follis coinage. Midway between the two lies the reformed silver, which, like the gold, was chronologically 'staggered' from mint to mint in such a way that uniform application of a type was hardly possible. In fact the range of silver types was restricted to three—the XCVI reverse struck at Ticinum and Aquileia³ (which marked the new silver piece as $\frac{1}{80}$ th of a pound of silver, just as Ξ marked the new gold as $\frac{1}{80}$ th of a pound of gold), and the reverses showing respectively a 'camp-gate' and the tetrarchs at sacrifice before a walled camp: the two latter types were accompanied by three interchangeable legends—VICTORIA SARMATICA, VIRTUS MILITVM, PROVIDENTIA AVGG, all appearing in variant forms. (Carthage, it should be noted, set herself apart once more, as she did with her folles, by the use of the *Fel. advent. Augg. nn. type.*)⁴ The general effect of the silver is that of basic but not absolute uniformity. The message of the gold was hardly less wide than it had been in preceding reigns: it embroidered the Jovian-Herculian theme of divine origin and protection, predestined by fate and cemented by *concordia* and *salus*, and it emphasized by means of dated, 'ceremonial'

¹ Pink, NZ 1931, pp. 15 ff.

² The lesson of the great Arras hoard (Babelon-Duquénoy, *Aréthuse* 1924, pp. 45 ff.; A. Baldwin, NNM 28; Evans, NC 1930, pp. 221 ff.) is salutary in this respect.

³ Pink, NZ 1930, pp. 19 ff.: the type is virtually absolute at Aquileia, though Pink records a single exception.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 18 f.; Elmer, NZ 1932, pp. 23 ff.

types the parts played in the imposing structure of empire by the Augusti and their assistants. But the silver was much more limited in its pronouncements. Apart from the purely metrological XCVI type confined to Ticinum and Aquileia it presented three unvarying concepts: the imperial *providentia*, traditionally the means of foreseeing and planning, under divine guidance, the future needs of the state—especially in the matter of continuous succession (and had not the Augusti deliberately chosen Caesars who should succeed them?);¹ the success of imperial leadership in arms; and the high quality of the soldiery, in whom Diocletian chose to recognize both the effective source of that *auctoritas* which the Augusti had acquired by acclamation and also the witness of its wise and successful use.² To this carefully balanced picture presented by the gold and silver was added, by the world-wide issuing of the follis, the remaining great concept of an imperial Roman people at one with itself under the paternal protection of that *genius* who was assuredly to be equated with Diocletianus Iovius.³

Thus the reformed coinage of Diocletian, quite apart from the economic and metrological implications which it is not the purpose of this essay to examine, offers a profitable ground for study in the coin-types which were selected for it, stage by stage. And it is surely clear that the characteristic Roman tradition, whereby formula and flexibility go hand in hand, was still active and alive. The detailed investigation of even such an apparently rigid series as the follis coinage shows that, here again, differentiation could arise, mint by mint, and be tolerated.⁴ A good example can be seen in the great mint of Treveri.⁵ This began to strike folles from what was apparently a single *officina*, signing the coins TR: these folles were issued in the names, and with the portraits, of both the Augusti and both the Caesars. But whereas at many other mints (e.g. Aquileia, Ticinum, Rome) the initial issue of folles was characterized by the unvarying

¹ Cf. M. P. Charlesworth, 'Providentia and Aeternitas', *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 1936, pp. 107 ff.; W. Ensslin, *CAH* xii, p. 385.

² Seston, *op. cit.*, pp. 196 ff., and pp. 202 f., where it is noted that, according to Lactantius, *de mort. pers.* 19, it was before a military *contio* at Nicomedia that Diocletian, upon his abdication with Maximian, appointed Constantius and Galerius as their successors.

³ Ensslin, *CAH* xii, pp. 326, 406.

⁴ The following notes are based mainly on the material which I have collected in preparation for *RIC* vi.

⁵ Cf. O. Voetter, *NZ* 1918, pp. 181 ff.

use of a single form of imperial title and of a single style of portrait-bust (laureate to right) for each of the Tetrarchs, Treveri—like its neighbours Londinium and Lugdunum (all three being in the dominion assigned to Constantius)—adopted from the first a variant scheme and continued that variation in the later issues also. At least two forms of portrait-bust were immediately employed (laureate to right, and laureate to left), together with an immediately wide range of imperial legends, so that while at Rome, for instance, the first follis issue when listed contains but four specific varieties, one for each Tetrarch, that of Treveri already contains sixteen. The single *officina* of Treveri was quickly expanded into three, working in two successive stages; and the fast-growing output is sufficiently reflected in the growing number of coin-variants caused by permutation of portrait and legend in these two stages—20 and 72 respectively. In the next period these three *officinae* were reduced to two (perhaps one was assigned to work on increased output of gold or silver),¹ and now the first differentiation in reverse-type is to be seen. Fortuna Redux is momentarily introduced, and not in one version only: she may stand to left (for *Augg. et Caess. nn.*), or be seated to left in two versions, one for *Augg. nn.* and one for *Caess. nn.*, and with this new type the total number of coin-variants rises in the first two stages of the two-*officina* period to 163 and 119 respectively, mainly through the use of no fewer than seventeen varieties of obverse portrait, many of these being most elaborate, showing helmeted and armoured busts with spear and shield or busts holding *victoriolae* or eagle-tipped sceptres. And the new *Sacra moneta* reverse, introduced about A.D. 300 and clearly to be connected with the maximal edict, adds its own quota of permutations and combinations.

Within a quinquennium, therefore, the Treveran folles developed a variety which, if partially paralleled at the 'fellow-mints' at Lyons and in Britain, contrasts very strongly with usage elsewhere: eastern mints, for example, tended to retain the plain 'laureate to right' portrait for a number of years and (as at Antioch) to preserve a single form of the imperial legends of each of the Tetrarchs.² But everywhere

¹ See below, p. 187.

² Cf. Voetter, *NZ* 1917, pp. 11 ff., 24 ff.; Gerin, *NZ* 1917, pp. 49 f.; Laffranchi, *NC* 1927, pp. 233 ff.

some kind of local variation is to be seen in the follis-coinage. Serdica, Thessalonica, and Heraclea never ousted the *Genio populi Romani* for the *Sacra moneta* type which, as we have seen, must have come in about 300; and that this was no mere peculiarity of mints in Galerius' Balkan territories is shown by exactly the same retention of *Genio populi Romani* at Lugdunum.¹ At Serdica, indeed, *Genio populi Romani* survived the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian by about two years: similarly *Sacra moneta* survived the abdication (which in some mints brought about a new series of types) at Rome and Siscia.² Most mints struck simultaneously for the Augusti and the Caesars: Heraclea, however, is conspicuous for its failure to coin for the Caesars. Even the Genius type itself was subject to differentiation. At Treveri, for example, the initial form of the Genius showed him wearing a modius on his head and a chlamys on his shoulders. But shortly before the abdication the turreted crown common in representations of City-Tychai³ began to compete with the modius, and then displaced it: immediately afterwards the shoulder-chlamys was replaced by a himation draping the loins.⁴ At Lugdunum, on the other hand (where an altar was soon added to the left of the Genius as the focal point of his act of sacrifice),⁵ the himation was not introduced until about 307—nearly two years after the abdication—and it was still accompanied by the modius head-dress.⁶

It is natural, of course, to look for variation in the number of *officinae* operating from mint to mint, and both the follis and the silver series show such variation clearly. Folles often started from a single *officina*—if (that is to say) it is correct to interpret an undifferentiated mint-mark such as LON(dinium) (or LN), TR(everi), AQ(uileia), T(icinum), R(oma) as evidence for the operation of one follis-*officina* only—and occasionally contracted into a single *officina*,

¹ Cf. Voetter, NZ 1917, pp. 24 ff.

² Cf. Voetter, NZ 1920, pp. 101 ff.; 1925, pp. 1 ff.

³ See Daremberg-Saglio, cited at p. 177, n. 4, above.

⁴ It is not enough to describe the varieties as 'Genius I' and 'Genius II' owing to the permutations and combinations of modius / turreted crown / chlamys / himation.

⁵ Is this the altar—though snakeless—proper to a Genius (cf. Daremberg-Saglio, loc. cit.) or a symbolic representation of the Lyons altar of Augustus? An altar appears briefly at Aquileia also (cf. Voetter, NZ 1923, pp. 1 ff.).

⁶ It may be added that at Thessalonica, Heraclea, and other eastern mints (but not in the west) liquid is shown pouring out of the patera which Genius holds.

as is shown by the LP series of Lugdunum. It must, of course, be remembered that a mint which thus operated a single *officina* for folles could simultaneously be operating *officinae* for gold and silver. Thus a section of the Treveran silver coinage was given the *officina*-marks C and D, seen also on the last Treveran double-denarii: Siscian and Cyzicene silver apparently came from a single *officina*, for no differentiating mark was added: Nicomedian silver came from *officina* Γ only; and that of Antioch became concentrated in *officina* H. Conversely we find that the folles of Thessalonica, originally issued from *officinae* A and B, were thereafter assigned to *officinae* Γ, Δ, and E—a change which implies that A and B were then reserved for coinage in other metals. Geographical variation in the need for coinage was, needless to say, the cause of such changes—as it was also the cause of great fluctuations in the volume of folles struck at any given mint. At Rome, for example, the single R-*officina* was quickly swollen to nine(A-Θ):¹ we have seen the Treveran stream grow to meet Constantius' military needs, and then shrink: Serdica began with two follis-*officinae* and then, militarily important, ran for some time with five: Siscia, of equal military importance, began with three and never thereafter sank below that number. Siscia, indeed, was unusual in a number of ways. At various times it marked its folles with sequence numbers—IV, V, VI²—and with the XXI mark of value:³ its succession of coinage groups was very rapid, and it was alone in showing a sort of code-mark, half tally, half cryptogram, consisting of letters divided among the issues of the four partners (LCS Diocletian, SIG Maximian, GIL Constantius, LIS Galerius) which have been interpreted as LOCVS SIGGILLI [*sic*] SACRI⁴—the *sigillum* being in fact the concomitant mint-marks and issue-marks.

The allocation of the component sections of these letters to the Tetrarchs in the order (1) Diocletian, (2) Maximian, (3) Constantius, (4) Galerius is one of the very rare instances where the coinage calls

¹ Pink, NZ 1930, p. 15, with note 1, is in error: material personally recorded by me shows the operation of *officina* Θ as a certainty: thus the reading of *officina* H is validated. Pink might have remarked that *officinae* B, Γ, E, S, Z only struck very thinly indeed. Cf. Elmer, NZ 1932, p. 24.

² Voetter, NZ 1920, p. 103: so also did Aquileia, Voetter, NZ 1923, pp. 2 f.

³ Ibid.: this mark was used also at Alexandria, but nowhere else.

⁴ Voetter, NZ 1920, p. 103.

attention to their relative seniority.¹ From A.D. 284 to 286 Diocletian ruled alone. In 286 he named Maximian as Caesar and, later in the same year, Augustus. Troubles in Britain led him to assign Constantius as Caesar to Maximian in 293, after which he associated Galerius as Caesar with himself. It might have been expected that, where four or more *folles-officinae* were at work, these would normally have been assigned to the Tetrarchs in the clearly known chronological order of their seniority. But in fact Rome, deserted temporarily as an imperial capital² and perhaps thereby the more conscious of distinctions, was almost alone in giving clear particularity to this theme on its folles, *officina* A being assigned to Diocletian, B to Maximian, Γ to Constantius and Δ to Galerius, and in preserving the distinction once it was made.³ The same distinction was observed at Carthage (with P, S, T, Q and A, B, Γ, Δ)⁴ after an initial period in which, as at Aquileia,⁵ three *officinae* were assigned, the first and second to Diocletian and Maximian jointly, and the third to the two Caesars jointly. At the majority of mints, however, it would be true to say that the attribution of *officinae* to individual Tetrarchs was undertaken impartially and that, as a general rule, each *officina* tended to strike for all four Tetrarchs concurrently.

Enough, perhaps, has been said in this short survey to put the Reform of Diocletian into new perspective. It was not a single, revolutionary act, as tradition and imagination have so often painted it, but a patient process which lasted about a decade. Its primary purpose was certainly economic; but no opportunity was lost of making the new coins say things which were no less important politically or apt emotionally than what previous coinages had said—indeed, they were much more so than the dreary and hackneyed pool of types used by the emperors of the mid-third century. The structure and system of the new coinage does much to create the illusion of uniform coins struck by uniformly conducted mints; but in fact there was empire-wide variety both in the details of the coins and also in

¹ Cf. Seston, *op. cit.*, pp. 184 f., 215 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 219 f.

³ Voetter, *NZ* 1925, p. 12.

⁴ Elmer, *NZ* 1932, pp. 25 ff.: Carthage was punctilious also in adding the letters I (ovius) and H (erculius) on the folles of the Jovian and Herculan partners respectively.

⁵ Voetter, *NZ* 1923, p. 2.

the organization of the mints which struck them. Indeed, it could be said with justice that the new Diocletianic coinage carried on the tradition of imperial coinage without interruption. Its essential continuity was best seen within a couple of years of the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian on 1 May 305. For a few months Constantius and Galerius ruled together as the new Augusti, Herculian and Jovian respectively (Constantius, though not Jovian, was the senior), with Severus and Maximinus as their Caesars. This, the second Tetrarchy, preserved the Diocletianic coinage-system as carefully as Tiberius had preserved the arrangements of Augustus. But with Constantius' death in Britain in July 306 the whole politico-religious system fell apart. Increasing rivalry between east and west, the recovery by Rome of her own lost prestige, the personal ambition of Constantine and Maxentius, the unreliability and unwisdom of old Maximian—these and other causes ripped the tetrarchic system to pieces, and in the process the coinage recovered, without effort or hesitation, all its former freedom, variety—and instability. It now set out to state the policies, abilities, and strength of the rivals with increasing clearness, and the way was open for that process of which the decisive stages were marked at the Milvian Bridge, Cibala, and Adrianople.

XI

GOLD COINAGE IN THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

By J. P. C. KENT

STUDENTS have approached the problems of the Roman coinage from many angles—chronological, economic, and religious, to name but a few. There is, however, one aspect which has suffered some neglect, and I hope in this paper to make a contribution towards redressing the balance. I refer to the problem of the administrative organization which underlay the vast structure of the imperial coinage, and which made possible the coherent presentation of official policy together with an adequate supply of ready money. Here I can deal only with one facet of this machine, that which handled the supply and coinage of gold under the later emperors.

The coinage system maintained by Augustus and his successors had been essentially bimetallic. The gold and silver coins were tarified at a fixed relationship to one another and to the bronze, and were struck at weights more or less corresponding with their tariff value. Traces of this system survive as late as the reign of Severus Alexander, when Dio Cassius still spoke of 25 denarii equalling 1 aureus.¹ But with the ever-accelerating decline in purity and weight of the silver coinage and the loss in public confidence in *Aequitas publica*, bimetalism was lost in chaos. Perhaps the earliest hint that gold was commanding a premium is found in the satisfied boast of M. Aedinius Julianus on the Marbre de Thorigny of A.D. 238 that he had, apparently as a special favour, received his salary in gold.² His less-favoured colleagues were driven to greater and harsher peculations as the value of their salaries fell. By the end of the third century the annual salary of a *trecenarius*, an officer of the senior ordinary equestrian grade, had

¹ Dio Cassius, *Hist.* 55. 12. 4.

² *CIL* xiii. 3162.

fallen from the equivalent of almost 70 pounds of gold to a purely nominal $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds.¹

Official reaction was not long delayed. Taxation was reorganized so that it was mainly supplied in kind instead of cash. Salaries were reassessed in terms of *annonae et capitus* (allowances of food and fodder). The coinage of gold was of relatively small proportion, and the individual pieces were often erratic in weight.² This shows that the state had for the moment given up the attempt to regulate any tariff, and though stability was at length regained, the fixed tariff of the early empire had gone for good.

We know too little about the details of Diocletian's reform to be able to say whether or not he tried to establish a fixed relationship between his gold, silver, and billon coins.³ Its main ultimate importance lay in its provision once more of a fairly abundant gold coinage struck to an exact standard. We can at once detect a reversion towards a cash economy. New cash taxes (see p. 194) were created and there is a rapid growth in the importance of the department responsible for them, the *res summa*. Taxes, though still calculated in kind, were increasingly commuted for cash. This process, technically described as *adaeratio*, was at first resisted by a government machine that only necessity could make adaptable, but before the end of the fourth century most taxes were once more on a cash basis. Wages, though still expressed as *annonae* and *capitus*, were being increasingly commuted to a cash equivalent.⁴

This cash economy was, however, very different from that of the principate. Values are expressed exclusively in terms of gold, sometimes in pound weights, sometimes in solidi, the 'stable' gold coins first issued under Constantine I. Sub-multiples were expressed, as the papyri reveal, not in lower coin denominations, but in siliquae (carats) and their divisions. The exchange value of the solidus against smaller coin constantly fluctuated. The public did not speak of

¹ 300,000 HS. = $66\frac{2}{3}$ pounds of gold. At the Diocletianic rate of 1 pound of gold = 50,000 denarii, 300,000 HS. = $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of gold.

² RIC v. 1, pp. 30-31.

³ A. H. M. Jones, *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 1953, p. 302, regards a fixed relationship under Diocletian as unlikely.

⁴ Cash *stipendia* survived throughout the period in vestigial form. Cf. *P. Oxy.* 1047; *Pan. Vet.* iii (xi), 1; *Amm.* 20. 8. 8 (army pay); *Amm.* 22. 4. 9 (imperial household).

'changing' solidi but of 'buying' and 'selling' them.¹ Constantius II protested that the coinage should be used for purchase, not as merchandise (*in usu constitutas (pecunias) pretium oportet esse, non merces*)² but Valentinian I and Valens accepted the gold standard and ordered that variations in the price of the solidus should be accompanied by proportional changes in other commodities.³ This legislation was maintained by Justinian, and (to judge from surviving coins) resulted in a fair measure of stability, with only moderate rises and falls in the market rate.

The maintenance of a satisfactory gold coinage was therefore a matter of prime importance to the late Roman government, for failure to produce sufficient coin of good weight and quality would have resulted in the immediate collapse of its financial system. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that successive emperors, from the time of Constantine I, maintained a large output and took measures of great severity to put down coiners.⁴

Since under the later empire, unlike earlier times, the Treasury required large sums in coined gold for payment to its soldiers and functionaries, it is important to bear in mind the main occasions when these payments fell due, for the solidi required for them are likely to have been minted as short a time before as possible. The *stipendia*⁵ and adulterated *annonae* will have been a continuous drain. Promotions took place on the emperor's birthday, which was therefore in all probability the date on which salaries became due.⁶ Two periodic occasions served to supplement requirements—imperial accessions and the quinquennial celebrations.

¹ For the 'sale' of solidi cf. *CTh.* 9. 22. 1 (343), 12.7.2 (363); *CJ* 11. 11. 1 (366); *Nov. Val.* iii. 14 (445); *Aug. Sermon.* 389. 3; *Anon. de Rebus Bellicis*, iii. 1.

² *CTh.* 9. 23. 1 (356).

³ *CJ* 11. 11. 2 (367).

⁴ Cf. *CTh.* 9. 23. 5 (343); 9. 22. 1 (343). For a different interpretation of this legislation, see P. Grierson, 'The Roman Law of Counterfeiting', pp. 240ff. below.

⁵ If paid in gold. In the reign of Constantine there is evidence that it was paid in denarii (*P. Oxy.* 1047), but for the later 4th century there is some reason to believe that it was paid in gold. This is the statement of Ammianus (38. 6. 12) that the troops in Africa were to be paid by a *tribunus et notarius* sent out from the *comitatus*. Later analogy, and the ensuing tale of speculation and corruption, imply that he was furnished with gold.

⁶ *CTh.* 6. 30. 21 (416), cf. *P. Oxy.* 1047. In the early empire there seems to have been a definite date on which promotions took place (cf. H. G. Pflaum, *Les Procurateurs équestres*, &c., p. 204) but the principles on which it was selected are not certain.

The importance of the accession donative is stressed by many texts. Claudian, in describing the preparations of the Praetorian Prefect Rufinus for his expected elevation to the throne, says that he ordered:

quod post vota daretur
insculpi propriis aurum fatale figuris.¹

Ammianus, having emphasized the importance of Valentinian I's own donative,² gives an account of the attempt of the usurper Procopius to use it to extend his own rule into Illyricum.³ The sum distributed to each soldier, 5 solidi and 1 pound of silver, is attested at the accession of Julian⁴ and continued at that figure down to 518.⁵ During the sixth century, however, the issue of silver coins in the East, even for ceremonial purposes, was suspended and it is not surprising to find the whole donative fixed at 9 solidi by 578.⁶

The quinquennial donative consisted of 5 solidi per man, until the practice was discontinued by Justinian.⁷ Libanius tells us what an acute source of financial embarrassment this was to the government,⁸ and we shall see below (p. 194) how a quinquennial tax was instituted specially to finance it. The Chronicle of Marcellinus records the dispatch of the donatives for the accession and first two *quinquennia* of Anastasius,⁹ whose excellent management of finance enabled him to be scrupulous in this respect. We have a description of the ceremonial presentation of a donative to the Household Brigade (*scholarii*) from the pen of Zachariah of Mytilene,¹⁰ which is doubtless typical of parades held all over the empire on such auspicious occasions. Before a copy of the Scriptures, all present swore an oath of orthodoxy and loyalty, after which each man stepped forward and received his 5 solidi.

The quest for the much needed gold was carried out with ruthless thoroughness—Leontius of Neapolis was later to compare Roman

¹ Claudian, *In Rufinum*, 2. 341–2.

² Amm. 26. 2. 10: 'ob nuncupationem augustam debita'.

³ Amm. 26. 7. 11.

⁴ Amm. 20. 4. 18.

⁵ Const. Porph. *De Caerim.* 412B (457); 432B (473); 423, 425B (491), 429B (518).

⁶ Joh. Ephes. 3. 11 = *Scr. Syr.* (3rd series), 3, p. 101.

⁷ Procop. *Anec.* 24. 27–29.

⁸ Liban. *Or.* 22 (*in Elleb.*) 4. He refers to the events of 387.

⁹ Marc. *sub anno* 496 = *Mon. Germ. Hist. Chr. Min.* 2, p. 94; *sub anno* 500 = *ibid.*, 2, p. 95.

¹⁰ Zach. Myt. 7, p. 172 (ed. Bury).

fiscal severity to the inexorable terrors of the Last Judgement¹—and followed two main lines. These were (a) the numerous cash taxes, and (b) machinery for repurchasing solidi on the open market. The principal taxes and dues levied in gold and silver were the following:

(i) *Collatio lustralis* (χρυσάργυρον πραγματευτικόν).² Comparison of its Latin and Greek names shows that this tax was a quinquennial levy in gold and silver on the trading classes. It seems to have been assessed on workmen plus the tools of their trade,³ and, though it was the only major tax falling on the *plebs urbana*, was very unpopular. No doubt at first this was mainly due to its quinquennial incidence on improvident taxpayers,⁴ but, even after payments were ordered to be spread *sub parva et minima contributione* in 410,⁵ it still resulted in much undeclared trading.⁶ Even so, its abolition in 498⁷ by Anastasius (he replaced it at once by a land tax) led to such enthusiasm as almost to redeem his good name from the taint of heresy. Its value may be seen from the sum of 140 pounds of gold, said to have been the average quinquennial payment of the city of Edessa.⁸

The taxation in cash of the urban inhabitants had been revived by Galerius⁹—his attempt to introduce it in Rome had been a prime cause of the success of the revolt of Maxentius¹⁰—but the *collatio* itself was a creation of Constantine I,¹¹ and existed before 325.¹² Its unique incidence makes it almost certain that it was designed to finance the quinquennial donatives.

(ii) Land taxes. A proportion of the land tax was levied in cash in

¹ *Vit. Sci. Joh. Elem.* 41. It is not without significance that the text of the medieval *Dies Irae* abounds in metaphors derived from the technical vocabulary of tax exaction.

² For the taxes supplying the *Sacrae Largitiones*, see J. P. C. Kent, *The Office of Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* (London University dissertation), 1951, pp. 69 f.

³ Apart from a few minor exemptions, liability was extended to all persons listed in the current *negotiatorum matricula* (*CTh.* 16. 2. 15 (360)). For a receipt certifying payment on a mill and the persons employed there, cf. PSI 884 (A.D. 391).

⁴ See A. H. M. Jones, *Ancient Economic History*, pp. 11–12. Timotheus of Gaza is said to have composed a tragedy with this tax as its theme.

⁵ *CTh.* 13. 1. 20 (410).

⁶ *Nov. Val.* iii. 24 (447).

⁷ *Chron. Edess.* 74. For further sources cf. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* ii, p. 204, n. 1.

⁸ *Jos. Styl.* 31.

⁹ See A. H. M. Jones, *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 1953, pp. 312–13.

¹⁰ *Lact. de Mort. Pers.* 26. 2.

¹¹ Zosimus, *Hist.* 2. 38. 3. The passionate denunciation of this imputation by Evagrius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3. 39) carries little conviction.

¹² *CTh.* 7. 20. 3 (326) grants a partial immunity from it to veterans.

both East and West by the fifth century. In the West the charge of 2 solidi on each *millena* or *iugum* under Majorian¹ had risen to 2½ by the time of Theodoric.² In Egypt, the levy was 1½ carats for each *aroura*.³

(iii) Super-taxes. Each class in the hierarchy of the later empire was subject to a super-tax in proportion to its dignity.⁴ We have details of this only for the senatorial order, but the principles were no doubt similar for other classes. Senators paid 8, 4, or 2 folles annually,⁵ according to the size of their estates. In 393 Theodosius I created a fourth class paying 7 solidi only,⁶ and it is clear that even if no lands were owned at all, the minimum payment was still due.⁷ So onerous was the burden on the poorer senator that in 428, retiring heads of the finance departments resigned the claim to senatorial rank which they had enjoyed since 408.⁸ The senatorial super-tax was abolished by Marcian on his accession in 450.⁹

(iv) 'Voluntary' taxes. On occasions of public rejoicing, such as imperial accessions, anniversaries, and victories, it was customary for all classes of society to express their joy by a 'voluntary'¹⁰ *oblatio* to the Treasury. In practice these were forced levies. Cities normally presented golden Victories,¹¹ or crowns,¹² but the Roman Senate paid in cash.¹³ Valentinian II was voted 1,600 pounds of gold on the occasion of his *decennalia* in 384¹⁴ and even the annual *vota* cost each senator 5 solidi.¹⁵

(v) Revenues from state land. During the fourth century the rent (*canon*) paid by the lessees of state land was a public revenue.¹⁶ It was

¹ *Nov. Maj.* 7. 16 (458).

² *Bina et terna*: Cassiod. *Variae* 3. 8, 7. 20-22.

³ *λαγνυτιονάλια*: A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, p. 277.

⁴ Cf. *CTh.* 13. 3. 2 (320): *senatorum et comitum perfectissimorumque munera et obsequia*.

⁵ *CTh.* 6. 2. 13 (383), cf. Hesych. fr. 6 = *Frag. Hist. Graec.* 4, p. 154.

⁶ *CTh.* 6. 2. 15 (393), cf. 18 (414).

⁷ *CTh.* 6. 2. 13 (383).

⁸ *CTh.* 6. 2. 26 (428).

⁹ *CJ* 12. 2. 1-2 (450).

¹⁰ The theory of its voluntary character was maintained by its exclusion from the annual *indictio* (*CTh.* 12. 13. 1 (362)) and by the fact that *obryza* was not chargeable on it.

¹¹ *Amm.* 28. 6. 7.

¹² *Aurum coronarium*: cf. *P. Oxy.* 1413.

¹³ Not that of Constantinople, it seems, which still paid in crowns: cf. Themist. *Or.* 3, p. 40C.

¹⁴ Symmachus, *Relationes* 13.

¹⁵ *CTh.* 7. 24. 1 (395).

¹⁶ Probably till 379 in the East (cf. *Nov. Marc.* 3 (451)): till 405 in the West (*CTh.* 5. 16. 30 (405)).

calculated in gold and silver, as well as in crops.¹ In the fifth century it was transferred to the *res privata*, but under Anastasius the public revenue lost by the abolition of the *collatio lustralis*² was made up by the creation of a new department, the *sacrum patrimonium*, which administered certain state lands for the benefit of the Treasury.³

(vi) Indirect taxes. Most of the well-known indirect taxes of the early empire disappear during the third century. The sales-tax, for example, is not known in the later empire before 444-5, when it was apparently revived *de novo*.⁴ *Portoria*, however, had a continuous existence, and were no doubt collected in kind if the traders' cash was not acceptable. Under Justinian the annual revenue from a single tax, the *exagogium* of Alexandria, amounted to 1,469 solidi,⁵ and the total produced was formidable. Certain classes, who were difficult to tax directly, such as the itinerant gold-prospectors (*aurileguli*), were compelled to purchase a licence (costing half a pound of gold).⁶ Since they were bound to follow their profession,⁷ whether or not they discovered any gold,⁸ we are not surprised to learn that they welcomed the coming of the Goths, *vectigalium perferre posse non sufficientes sarcinas graves*.⁹

(vii) Compulsory purchase. A papyrus of the early fourth century¹⁰ attests the practice of instructing each city to raise a given quantity of gold and accept small change at government rates in return. This may be the land-tax described later in the century as the *titulus auri comparatici*.¹¹

The list of cash-producing taxes given above is by no means exhaustive, and gives merely the main sources. But still more gold had to be found, and so, when all else failed, the Treasury was forced to buy it on the open market. Its unwilling agents were the bankers, the *corpus collectariorum*. The detailed working of the system is known

¹ Gold: *CTh.* II. 16. 1 (319), 2 (323), 12. 6. 2 (325), 12. 7. 1 (325), 11. 19. 3 (364), 11. 16. 13 (383). Silver: *Nov. Val.* III. 13 (445), cf. *CTh.* II. 9. 2 (337): *aurum argentumque*. Corn: *CTh.* II. 16. 1 (319), 5. 16. 29 (399), 14. 16. 2 (416).

² *Joh. Malal.*, pp. 394, 398.

³ According to the most likely interpretation of a most difficult question.

⁴ *Nov. Val.* III. 15 (444-5).

⁵ *Ed. Just.* 13. 15 (554).

⁶ *CTh.* 10. 19. 3 (370); 10. 19. 12 (392).

⁷ *CTh.* 10. 19. 5 (369), 15 (424).

⁸ Gold rushes, and prospecting outside the licence area, were firmly repressed: cf. *CTh.* 10. 19. 6 (369), 9 (378).

¹⁰ *P. Oxy.* 2106.

⁹ *Amm.* 31. 6. 6.

¹¹ *CTh.* 7. 6. 3 (377).

only for the city of Rome, but although the arrangements there were untypical in certain respects the principles can be clearly deduced. The essence of the system can be seen in a Novel of Valentinian III.¹ The government agrees to buy solidi from the *collectarii* at 7,200 nummi apiece, provided that not less than 7,000 nummi were paid to the public for each coin. It can be seen that the tariff fixed by the Treasury was adequate only if the price of gold remained stable. A very slight rise would confront the *collectarii* with a loss, and in fact we have a petition from them requesting new terms on such an occasion.²

In Rome itself the Treasury was represented in the first instance by the *arca vinaria*, one of the many minor treasuries of the Prefect of the City, but elsewhere the *collectarii* probably dealt direct with the provincial treasuries, in which government stocks of small change are likely to have been stored.³ Thus we have evidence of two methods by which the state was able to put its small change into circulation at terms advantageous to itself.

It is not difficult to account for the excellent preservation of most surviving late Roman gold in view of the infinite pains taken by the government to ensure its return to the Treasury with the minimum delay and loss through wear. The chance of any individual piece circulating for long was slight. If it escaped recoinage, it must have gone quickly to ground.

To understand the administrative system responsible for the recoinage, we must briefly examine what the state did with the gold it received in taxation. Initial collection from the taxpayer was the responsibility of each city council. During the first half of the fourth century each city had its own treasury under an *exactor*,⁴ and it seems that it was the duty of officers styled *largitionales civitatis* to transport the collected taxes thence to a government repository.⁵ These *largitionales* are classed with provincial and not palatine *officia*,⁶ and it is

¹ *Nov. Val.* iii. 14 (445).

² Symmachus, *Relatio* 29.

³ These treasuries were always located at mint cities (see the *Notitia Dignitatum*) and in them were deposited all the accounts relating to the minor provincial officers of the *sacrae largitiones* (*CTh.* i. 32. 2 (337)).

⁴ Cf. M. Gelzer, *Studien* p. 50; A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City*, p. 152; A. Déléage, *La Capitation du Bas Empire*, pp. 134 f.

⁵ *CTh.* 6. 35. 3 (352), cf. 8. 7. 6 (354), 6. 27. 1 (354).

⁶ *CTh.* 8. 3. 1 (364), 12. 6. 6 (365), cf. 6. 35. 6 (364).

therefore likely that they were agents of the *rationalis* of each diocese, and deposited their receipts in his treasuries. There were also *largitionales comitatenses*, of superior status, whose title suggests that they formed the link between the provincial treasuries and the imperial residence. Under this dispensation, which is attested under Constantius II and continued into the first years of Valentinian I and Valens, it is clear that the provincial mints—which in the West at least were closely associated with *thesauri*—could play a vital part in the coinage of gold. A direct link existed to take their products to the central treasury, wherever it happened to be. The coinage celebrating the *tricennalia* of Constantius II, for example, was struck at Trier, Lyons, Arles, Milan, Aquileia, Rome, Siscia, Sirmium, Thessalonica, Constantinople, Nicomedia, and Antioch.¹ The first coinage of Valentinian I and Valens, with legend *RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE*, was equally widespread, being issued from Trier, Lyons, Arles, Milan, Aquileia, Rome, Sirmium, Thessalonica, Heraclea, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, and Antioch.²

The change that came over the gold coinage under Valentinian I and Valens was first observed in detail by the late Georg Elmer.³ His theory of a travelling mint attached to the court won little acceptance, however, for although he was able to show that successive places of issue seemed to coincide with imperial visits it was also based on alleged similarities of portraiture at different mints, which our own J. W. E. Pearce showed to be exceptional.⁴ The fact, however, remains that the gold coinage concentrates on the *pro tempore* imperial residence. If, as I hope to show, this concentration is the result of certain administrative reforms whereby—certain exceptions apart—gold might *only* be struck at the imperial residence, we may have important clues as to the duration and relative order of certain coinages whose exact chronology still escapes us.

The detailed organization of the central finance bureau (*sacrae largitiones*) is known to us from a constitution of Theodosius I, preserved in the Justinian Code.⁵ But the main structure is stated by

¹ O. Ulrich Bansa, *Moneta Mediolanensis*, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³ See his 'Eugenius', *NZ* 1936, pp. 29 f. and 'Wanderungen römischer Münzämter im IV. Jahrh. n. C.', *Mitteil. d. num. Ges. in Wien*, 1930, p. 136.

⁴ *RIC* ix, p. xxvii.

⁵ *CJ* 12. 23. 7 (384), cf. the corrupt *CTh.* 6. 30. 7.

another law to have been the work of Valens,¹ and a number of its features are clearly related to the financial reforms undertaken by that emperor and his colleague between 365 and 368. We need concern ourselves only with the actual Treasury department, the *scrinium aureae massae*.

Two factors were uppermost in the minds of Valentinian I and Valens when they undertook their reorganization. The first was the curbing of the independence of the central treasuries. This was effected by the withdrawal from their agents of any part in the exaction of taxes, a duty which was henceforward to be vested in the staffs of provincial governors and of the diocesan vicars. The second was anxiety concerning the quality of the gold collected. The problem of false and mutilated solidi seems to have presented a serious challenge to the stability of the government's finances, for not only was this type of forgery punished with savage rigour, but from an early date payments in actual coin were discouraged. As early as 325, cash rents of the *res privata* were accepted in solidi only at a considerable premium.² Bullion, whose purity could be easily tested, was much preferred. To detect false and light-weight solidi, Julian ordered a *zugostates* to be appointed in each city, empowered to weigh and test all pieces presented for his inspection.³ But even when genuine full-weight pieces had been exacted, the *largitionales* themselves are stated to have substituted forgeries *en route* to the Treasury.⁴ Therefore an entirely fresh start had to be made.

When the initial handling of the taxation had been placed in the hands of the provincial governors, they were instructed that solidi were no longer acceptable. All taxes were to be paid in bullion alone and each payment was to be tested for purity, any deficiency being made up by the taxpayer as a charge called *obryza*.⁵ The ingots produced by this means were, as we know from surviving examples,⁶ certified by the stamp of the testing officer. They were collected from each province by *palatini* of the *sacrae largitiones*⁷ and transported

¹ CTh. 6. 30. 13 (395).

² CTh. 12. 7. 1 (325).

³ CTh. 12. 7. 2 (363).

⁴ CTh. 12. 6. 12 (366), 13 (367).

⁵ CTh. 12. 6. 12 (366), 13 (367). For a similar practice in Saxon England, see Sir John Craig, *The Mint*, p. 21.

⁶ E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* i, col. 882 f.

⁷ CTh. 1. 10. 7 (401), 8. 8. 5 (395).

direct to the imperial residence (*comitatus*).¹ Here they were deposited with the *scrinium aureae massae*, and, as the name shows, were retained as bullion.

All gold, therefore, after the reforms of 366-7, was brought direct to the *comitatus* in the form of certified ingots, and two results follow directly. Gold coinage becomes confined to the imperial residence, and early in 368 it receives the certifying mark OB(*ryziatum*),² testifying that it is the product of the proved metal acquired under the recent reforms.³

The legislation governing the collection of silver has not been preserved, but the corresponding appearance on the silver coinage of P(u)S(ulatium) suggests that it was similarly organized. On the strength of the *scrinium aureae massae* we find a body described as *aurifices solidorum*.⁴ I would suggest the recoinage of ingots into solidi was their responsibility. Dies were no doubt produced locally as required by the presence of the Treasury, and certainly in the fifth century these dies accompanied the court when it moved,⁵ and must therefore have been kept under comitatensian control.

We have seen that after 366-7 gold came direct to the *sacrae largitiones*, where a department was created to undertake its recoinage. In 369 the ordinary mints (*monetae publicae*), which had been allowed to go on converting private (as opposed to state) gold into solidi, were forbidden to continue this practice.⁶ In 374 it was once more permitted, on payment of a fee of two ounces in every pound.⁷ Since, for the most part, the only dies available at the provincial mints would have been those of Valentinian I's and Valens' first issue with legend RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE, I have wondered whether the relative abundance of this type—the Dortmund hoard of c. A.D. 408 contained 130 specimens out of a total of 443⁸—is due to the fact

¹ CTh. 10. 24. 3 (381), 12. 8. 1 (409).

² The date is fixed by the occurrence of the letters OB on rare solidi commemorating the end of the first *quinquennium* of Valentinian I and Valens: RIG ix, p. 217, no. 26 (Constantinople).

³ Cf. Joh. Cassian. *Conlat.* 1. 20. 1: 'aurum purissimum, et, ut vulgo dictum, obryzum'.

⁴ CJ 12. 23. 7 (384).

⁵ A single obverse die of Placidia has been noted with both Aquileia (Hirsch Cat. xviii, no. 1907) and Rome (Hirsch Cat. xxix, no. 1910) reverses. Similarly, a Rome reverse die of Valentinian III (Photograph, British Museum) was later recut for use at Ravenna (Horsky Coll., Hess 1917).

⁶ CTh. 9. 21. 7 (369).

⁷ CTh. 9. 21. 8 (374).

⁸ K. Regling, *Der Dortmunder Fund römischer Goldmünzen*.

that these dies continued to be used to convert private bullion into gold long after they had ceased to be used for official issues.

The distinction between the *moneta publica* managed by a *procurator* and the *moneta auri* continued into Byzantine times. At Ravenna,¹ and probably at Constantinople,² we know that they were in different quarters of the town, and their personnel were entirely distinct. In sixth-century Ravenna the palatine status of the gold moneyers is reflected in their rank of *v(ir) c(larissimus) pal(atinus) s(a)c(rarum) l(argitionum) et monetarius auri*.³ The workers in *monetae publicae*, servile in origin, were of a very different status. They remained subject to the degrading provisions of the *S. C. Claudianum*,⁴ and formed a *corpus*, bound to the hereditary service of the state.⁵ In mint cities, like Cyzicus, we find them forming a not unimportant element of the population.⁶

In this differentiation lies, I believe, a clue that may contribute to the solution of one of the great problems of the later empire—the date of the *Notitia Dignitatum*. It has been argued that the financial sections of this must antedate 383, on the grounds of the omission from the list of procuratorships of the establishment at Milan,⁷ the *opulens moneta* of Ausonius.⁸ We have seen that by this period the coinage of gold, and the staff responsible for it, were all embraced within the *officium palatinum*. From its re-establishment c. 353 the feature distinguishing Milan from all other mints is its concentration on gold and a little silver, to the total exclusion of bronze. Furthermore, it only operated during the presence or immediate proximity of the emperor and his court. I think it is possible to conclude that Milan is not in the list because it was not a *moneta publica* managed by a *procurator*, and that its activities were solely due to the presence of officials of the *scrinium aureae massae*.

¹ *Moneta publica*: Agnell. *Vit. Pont. Rav.* = *Mon. Germ. Hist. Scr. Rer. Lang.* p. 353. *Moneta auri*: Marini, *I papiri diplomatici raccolti ed illustrati*, no. 120, locates it in *porticum sacri palatii*.

² *Moneta publica*: in the 12th Region near the Golden Gate (Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum*, p. 289). Byzantine sources place ἡ παλάτα χαράγῃ in the palace.

³ Marini, *op. cit.*, 120.

⁴ Cf. *CTh.* 10. 20. 10 (380). Their classification with *ultimi negotiatores* and *abiecta officia*: *CJ* 12. 1. 6 (356–60).

⁵ *CTh.* 10. 20. 16 (426).

⁶ Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* 5. 15.

⁷ Salisbury, 'On the Date of the *Notitia Dignitatum*', *JRS* 1927, pp. 102 f.

⁸ Auson. *de clar. urb.* 5. 6.

The premise that after c. 368 gold coinage was mainly concentrated at the imperial *comitatus* may make us think again about the order and attribution of certain coinages and marks. The marks COM and COMOB, for example, have been often interpreted as the signature of a guaranteeing officer COM(*es sacrarum largitionum*) or COM(*es auri*).¹ But the letters seem to take the place of a mint-mark, and having regard to the organization of gold coinage discussed above, and to the issue of Valens marked $\frac{O|B}{COMM\star}$ ² I am inclined to interpret them as explicitly marking the coins as those emanating from the imperial COM(*itatus*). If this interpretation wins acceptance, some rearrangement of the gold issues will become inevitable. In particular, the VICTORIA AVGGG $\frac{S|M}{COMOB}$ issue of c. 393–96, attributed by Pearce to Sirmium,³ will have to be moved farther east. This coinage was continued for a while after the death of Theodosius I and the division of the empire, under which the city of Sirmium fell to Honorius. This would have placed both the mints striking gold in his control, and left none to Arcadius. Apart from the inherent difficulties of this view, the activities of Rufinus provide evidence of such a mint in the eastern parts by October 395. Ulrich Bansa has already proposed to assign the bulk of the issue to Constantinople,⁴ but since by analogy we should expect SM to be elements of a city name I would suggest the neighbouring S(ely)M(bria) as a possible location. Between 395 and 404 that city was honoured by the grant of the dynastic name of Eudoxiopolis,⁵ and it may be that this distinction was given on account of its having temporarily accommodated elements of the imperial retinue. Another series which, on this interpretation, can be fitted more closely into its historical context is the IMP XXXXII COS XVII PP coinage of Theodosius II.⁶ Portions

¹ e.g. O. Ulrich Bansa, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 156; Evans, *NC* 1915, pp. 433 f. The meaning of COMOB was recorded in the *Notae Vaticanae* (Keil, *Grammatici Latini* iv, p. 305), but unfortunately is only preserved under the corrupt form COMICIA OBRIZIACA.

² *RIC* ix, p. 217, no. 26b.

³ *RIC* ix, pp. 157 f.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 156 f.

⁵ Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 7. 36; *CTh.* 15. 1. 42 (404). Cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 25; Besnier, *Lexique* p. 689.

⁶ J. Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines*, Théodose II, nos. 5–7; J. Tolstoi, *Monnaies byzantines*, Théodose, nos. 18–24. J. W. E. Pearce, *The Roman Coinage from A.D. 364 to 423*, p. 67, nos. 28–29.

of this are of unusual style and bear the mark COMOB, and I think there is now a good case for relating them to the *expeditio Asiana* of 443,¹ Theodosius' only prolonged absence from Constantinople. They will then be attributed to various cities of Asia Minor through which Theodosius and his *comitatus* passed during his progress.

There remains an anomaly to account for—the fifth-century gold coinage of Thessalonica. The first pieces assignable beyond possible doubt to that mint are of the CONCORDI-AAVGG issue of c. 408–c. 420 marked $\frac{\ast |}{\text{COMOB}}$ ² and $\frac{\ast |}{\text{TESOB}}$.³ Thereafter, at least until the reign of Basiliscus, Thessalonica coined gold in small but continuous issues. I believe the clue to lie in the organization of Justinian's Ravenna mint with its staff of *palatini* (see above, p. 201). Thessalonica was the seat of the Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum, and I think it likely that he, like his late established colleagues at Ravenna and probably also at Carthage, was expressly assigned a detachment from the *officium* of the *comes sacrarum largitionum* to enable him to coin small quantities of gold. Ravenna, and probably also Carthage, the seats of the Prefects of Italy and Africa, will have received palatine drafts on their reconquest by Justinian.

I will conclude by attempting a brief summary. In the collapse of the bimetallic system of the early Empire, taxation and wages were reassessed in kind. When from the time of Diocletian onwards a monetary economy was re-established, the only fixed standard for taxes and payments alike was that of gold, and other coin rose and fell in relative value according to ordinary economic laws. Since the whole system of imperial finance depended on the maintenance of a satisfactory gold coinage, forgery and mutilation, which tended to reduce the income from taxation, were savagely repressed, and every effort was made to draw in the maximum amount of gold to the Treasury. The final steps in perfecting the system were taken by Valentinian I and Valens in 366–7. They decreed that all gold received in taxation was to be melted into ingots and tested before acceptance,

¹ Marc. *sub anno* 443 = *Mon. Germ. Hist. Chr. Min.* ii, p. 81; *Chron. Pasch.* p. 315D; *Sozom. Hist. Eccl.* proem.

² Honorius: cast in B.M.; Theodosius II: example in B.M.

³ Honorius: Hess Sale (Trau Coll.), 22 May 1935, lot 4648; Theodosius II: Florange & Ciani Sale (Allotte de la Fuye Coll.), 5 May 1925, lot 584.

and they reorganized the central treasury of the *sacrae largitiones* so that it was able to collect this bullion direct from the provinces and undertake its recoinage. Thus gold coinage became concentrated at the imperial residence (*comitatus*), and I suggest that the marks OB and COM that appear on it testify its mintage there from the accredited bullion received by the Treasury.

XII

PICTURE-LANGUAGE IN ROMAN ART AND COINAGE

By J. M. C. TOYNBEE

PICTURE-LANGUAGE in general is the use of words and phrases, written and spoken, of musical sounds, of movements in dancing, and of representations in the visual arts, to direct the thoughts of the reader, hearer, or spectator to something behind and beyond their face-value or explicit signification. Picture-language, or imagery, in Roman art is the visual expression of the characteristically Roman habit of thought, which moved simultaneously on two planes, to the modern mind distinct, but to the Roman mind closely interlocking, those of the natural and the supernatural, or of the real and the imaginary. On the one hand, Rome created, from Hellenistic beginnings, a new chapter in the story of realistic, in the sense of 'veristic' and highly individualistic, portraiture, and in that of historical narration defined as the factual, almost 'photographic', rendering of contemporary events. On the other hand, she developed, again from Hellenistic prototypes, a vast and elaborate galaxy of divine figures and personifications, peopling a world of fancy, but believed, in the case of the gods at least, to be in existence somewhere in the spiritual sphere. Sometimes these two worlds are almost segregated. The emperor, for instance, appears addressing his troops or fellow citizens, offering sacrifice, walking in procession, directing a battle, as anyone might have seen him in actual life. Tract after tract of the spiral reliefs on the columns of Trajan¹ and Marcus Aurelius² show documentary scenes of the Roman army and its

¹ C. Cichorius, *Die Traianssäule*, 1896-1900; K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Traianssäule*, 1926; P. Romanelli, *La Colonna Traiana: rilievi fotografici eseguiti in occasione di lavori di protezione antiaerea*, 1942.

² A. von Domaszewski, *Die Marcussäule auf Piazza Colonna*, 1896; M. Wegner, *IDAI* 1931, pp. 61 ff.; P. Romanelli, *La Colonna Antonina: rilievi fotografici eseguiti in occasione di*

general engaged in the day-to-day tasks of war, as a 'war-correspondent' might have observed them; yet even here some 'unreal' beings intrude—personifications of the Danube and of Night, Jupiter hurling his bolt at Dacians, 'Jupiter Pluvius' showering down the welcome rain on Marcus' legions, Victory inscribing on a shield Roman achievement. Such figures lift these relief-bands above the level of merely literal statement; and they hint at a 'higher' or implicit purpose or message—the sublimation of Rome and of all imperial activity—underlying those other 'photographic' scenes in which they are not present visibly. Again, many monuments, in particular coin-types and sculptures in the round, show isolated, independent figures of gods and personifications from which all visible traces of the prosaic world of fact have been excluded; yet these may, at times, have been intended to excite analogies and comparisons with concrete realities, as when Jupiter Pater, for example, might turn the beholder's thoughts to the emperor as Pater Patriae.

Far more often, however, these two planes pass over into one another visually. On the Ara Pacis Augustae Augustus, his family, priests, magistrates, and members of the *Populus Romanus* walk in procession almost exactly as they did in fact so walk on 4 July, 13 B.C., the altar's foundation-day.¹ Individual notables, besides the emperor, can be certainly identified: homely, realistic incidents and situations lend to this scene of solemn ceremony an almost startling actuality.² Yet the two halves of the cortège emerge, at one end, from groups of personifications (*Italia*³ and *Roma*⁴) and, at the other end, melt into *tableaux* drawn from legend (the sacrifice of Aeneas⁵ and the rescue of Romulus and Remus at the Lupercal⁶). On the Arch of Titus the emperor drives in triumph through the streets, just as Rome saw him; but Victory stands in the chariot to crown him and Virtus and Honos act as his grooms.⁷ The two reliefs discovered near the Palazzo della Cancelleria are scenes from contemporary history:

lavori di protezione antiaerea, 1942; J. Morris, *Journ. Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 1952, pp. 33 ff.

¹ G. Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, 1948, pls. 3, 4, 11, 12.

² J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Ara Pacis Reconsidered and Historical Art in Roman Italy* in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 1953, p. 86.

³ Moretti, *op. cit.*, pl. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 16.

⁷ E. Strong, *La scultura romana*, 1923, p. 107, fig. 72; M. Bieber, *AJA* 1945, pp. 25 ff.

Domitian and his father greet one another in Rome, attended by lictors and Vestals, Domitian sets out for the 'front' with lictors and praetorian guardsmen; but in the first case Victory, personifications of Senate and People, and the Dea Roma, in the second case Victory, Mars, Minerva, Virtus, and the personifications of Senate and People, mingle easily and, as we are made to feel, quite naturally with the human actors to play their part in the drama.¹

In the reliefs from the early third-century Arch of the Severi at Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania, the solemn reception of Septimius, with his empress and sons, in his birthplace is witnessed not only by massed troops and city magnates but also by a whole array of deities worshipped locally and of personifications representative of the city and its neighbouring towns and territory.² It is the view of the present writer that all the surviving sculptured scenes are of local significance and depict specific ceremonies enacted at Lepcis on the occasion of the imperial family's visit c. A.D. 203. These ceremonies seem to have been staged with two main ends in view—first, to stress the military glory won by Septimius through his recent victories in the East, and secondly, to enhance the prestige of Caracalla as the emperor's elder son, colleague, and destined heir. Of the four great friezes which once adorned the attic of this Arch, one shows the state entry, in the guise of a Roman triumph, of Septimius, Caracalla, and Geta into Lepcis, indicated by its *pharos* in the background of the main scene and by the figures of its Tyche and tutelary deities, Bacchus and Hercules, carved in relief on the front of the imperial chariot.³ The second frieze, the triumphal cortège of Caracalla and his mother, is very fragmentary; but enough survives to show that here supernatural beings, Hercules and Virtus, participated fully in the action.⁴ Similarly, in the third frieze, a sacrifice of which the empress is the chief officiant, a seated goddess (Juno?), Virtus, and personifications of the Senate and People of Lepcis mix freely with the human onlookers and ministrants;⁵ while Bacchus, the

¹ F. Magi, *I rilievi flavi del Palazzo della Cancelleria*, 1945.

² R. Bartoccini, *Africa Italiana* 1931, pp. 32 ff.; J. B. Ward Perkins, *JRS* 1948, pp. 72 ff., pls. 10, 11; *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 1951, pp. 269 ff.; pls. 4, 11, 13, 14.

³ *Africa Italiana* 1931, p. 101, fig. 70.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 139–44, figs. 101–6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 130–33, figs. 95–97.

Tyche of Lepcis, Hercules, Minerva, and Virtus preside in person over the scene depicted in the fourth frieze, the *dextrarum iunctio*, in which Septimius, attended by Julia Domna and Geta, presents Caracalla to the city as co-Augustus and successor to the empire.¹ Turning to the lesser reliefs carved on the inner faces of the four piers, we find there no less vivid illustrations of this interplay of the real and ideal worlds. Some scenes, indeed, present simple gatherings of spectator-deities—Apollo, Vertumnus(?), Diana, Cybele, Attis, Venus, Mars, Mercury, Virtus, Vesta(?), and Dionysus.² One relief illustrates the local cult of Hercules as practised on this state occasion.³ A remarkable panoramic scene of the siege of an oriental city—possibly based on a triumphal painting carried in the emperor's train when he entered Lepcis—is in too damaged a state to show whether or not gods and personifications supported the Roman attack.⁴ But in three other scenes divine and human actors meet and perform their parts in concert. Caracalla is crowned by Victory in the presence of Jupiter.⁵ Septimius and Julia Domna, in the respective guises of Jupiter-Serapis and Juno, are literally merged in the local Capitoline triad, accompanied by Minerva as third partner and attended by the Tyche of the city (Fig. 7a).⁶ Finally, in a ceremony staged at the top of a flight of steps before the columned façade of a temple Septimius presents Caracalla to the Tychai of the three component cities of the province, Lepcis, Sabratha, and Oea (Fig. 7b).⁷ In attendance are Virtus, the personification of the Senate of Lepcis, Hercules, and another bearded deity, less easy to identify, shown in effigy as standing on a pedestal. He holds a branch and may be the Deus or Genius Frugifer, an African god of fertility comparable to Silvanus, mentioned in inscriptions from Lepcis and Sabratha⁸ and

¹ *Africa Italiana* 1931, p. 113, fig. 80.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 81–83, figs. 49–51; pp. 85–87, figs. 53–56; pp. 90–91, figs. 57–58; p. 93, fig. 63; p. 97, fig. 65.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 89, fig. 56.

⁴ *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 1951, pl. 9. A bearded head may be that of Hercules.

⁵ *Africa Italiana* 1931, p. 84, fig. 52.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80, fig. 48. It is possible that this group was the recipient of (and was placed on the arch just above) the sacrifice of two bulls at an altar laden with fruit (*ibid.*, p. 79, fig. 47).

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 73–77, figs. 44–46.

⁸ J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, 1952, no. 279 (Lepcis), no. 5 (Sabratha).



a. Relief from the Severan Arch at Leptis Magna, Tripolitania, showing (l. to r.) Tyche, Julia Domna as Juno, Septimius Severus as Jupiter-Scrapis, and Minerva (*p.* 208)



b. Relief from the Severan Arch at Leptis Magna, Tripolitania, showing the presentation of Caracalla by Septimius Severus to the three Tychai of Tripolitania (*p.* 208)



c. Panel of the Virgil mosaic from Low Ham, Somerset, showing (l. to r.) Aeneas, Cupid as Ascanius, Venus, Dido (*p.* 215)



a. Wall-painting from Pompeii, showing Aeneas' arrival at the court of Dido (p. 215)



b. Torso of cuirass-statue of Hadrian from Knossos, in the garden of the Villa Ariadne, Crete (p. 213, note 2)



c. Detail of cuirass-statue of Hadrian from Knossos, in the Herakleion Museum, Crete (p. 213, note 2)

possibly portrayed under the title of *Saeculum Frugiferum* on coins and medallions of the Severan era.¹

The reliefs from the four-way arch at Lepcis, here explained as parts of a single, unified programme, merit a detailed survey. They are still comparatively unfamiliar; and they mirror more strikingly than any other extant major monument of Roman art the style and idiom of its picture-language.² Such samples of the language culled from state-sculptures can be multiplied from parallel coin-types. In all compositions of this kind the figures and incidents drawn from the supernatural, imaginary, and legendary worlds as also from the world of bygone history, both remote and more recent, are meant to suggest to the spectator lines along which the inner significance of persons and happenings in his concrete, present world should be understood and interpreted. Conversely, things and persons belonging to the concrete world are used in these scenes, particularly in those expressed in the 'shorthand' script of the coinage, to evoke in the beholder's mind abstract ideas and general concepts. A hand-clasp stands for concord, a German captive for barbarism, a pair of scales or a corn-measure for fair-dealing (*Aequitas*), a wheel for speed or the mutability of human fortunes, a group of children for colonial prosperity or of infant princes and princesses for the empress's 'virtue' of fecundity.³

The permutations and combinations of motifs drawn from these overlapping worlds or planes are obviously very numerous and complex; and the motifs themselves—the 'vocabulary' and 'phrases' of the language—fall into many categories—gods, personifications, scenes and characters from contemporary life, past history, legend, and myth, animals, plants, natural features, buildings, and inanimate objects. Furthermore, the functions which these motifs perform are no less complicated, interlocking, and many-faceted. Their uses have been variously labelled as 'allegorical', 'symbolic', and 'metaphorical';

¹ *RIC* iv, i, pp. 45, 52, 53, 93, 180, 182, pls. 2, no. 12; 4, nos. 6, 9; 5, no. 6; F. Gnechi, *I medaglioni romani*, 1912, ii, p. 73, no. 4, pl. 92, nos. 5, 6. This god or genius was obviously represented under a variety of different forms, sometimes with the tall head-dress of Ba'al.

² In the Parthenon frieze the gods watch the Panathenaic procession. But they may be thought of as doing so from Olympus, as being present, indeed, but 'spiritually'. They do not mingle with the human actors, who are, moreover, ideal or typical Athenians, not (so far as we know) identifiable individuals.

³ J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, 1944, pp. 98-100.

they themselves as 'personifications', 'allegorical figures', 'types', 'tokens', 'badges' or 'emblems', 'attributes', and 'adjuncts'. Some attempt to establish clear definitions of these words, the terminology of picture-language, as applied to ancient art is an indispensable preliminary to any study of the subject.

1. *Allegory*

Allegory, which means literally 'speaking in another way', is of two kinds. First, it denotes a story, or an incident, based on real life, invented or used by the writer, speaker, or artist in order to convey a spiritual or moral lesson. This kind of allegory is, in fact, a parable. Christ's parable of the Sower—indeed, almost all His parables, the anonymous *Everyman*, and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* come at once to mind as familiar, non-classical, literary instances. In Roman art such allegories are mainly confined to *genre-scenes* from daily life in funerary and other 'after-life' contexts. A charioteer winning a race on a tombstone, or a hunting- or battle-scene on a sarcophagus, speak of the soul's triumph over death and evil; a man or woman reclining at a banquet expresses the soul's endowment with heavenly bliss. Of particular interest are the scenes from trade- and business-life on provincial *stelae* from Gaul and Germany and in reliefs on mausolea from the Libyan hinterland.¹ For while in these it is certain that biographical, commemorative, and even self-advertising elements played an important role, some place must also be allowed them in the scale of 'other-worldly' ideas as allegories of the soul's trials, ordeals, toils, and successful strivings in this life through which it won its way to happiness beyond the grave. Sometimes the dead are thought of as still plying such occupations retrospectively² or as at least taking a lively interest in them.³ The 'after-life' import of these subjects stands out clearly, for example, on the Igel Monument near Trier, on which family-portraits of the Secundini and scenes from their professional activities are combined with the 'labours' of

¹ D. E. L. Haynes, *Ancient Tripolitania*, 1947, pls. 24-26 (Ghirza).

² Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 445: 'pars (sc. of the dead in the underworld) alias artes, antiquae imitamina vitae [celebrant].'

³ The most remarkable instance of this is the famous sarcophagus from Simpelveld, now at Leyden (E. Espérandieu, *BSBGR* xi, 1938, p. 107, no. 7795, with plate; F. Cumont, *Lux Perpetua*, 1950, pl. i).

Achilles and Perseus and with the apotheosis of Hercules.¹ The same thoughts underly the 'biographical' sarcophagi depicting the career of a general, poet, musician, or philosopher, or even episodes from the brief life-story of some specially talented child. Similarly, among the stucco reliefs on the Underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore in Rome, built in the mid-first century A.D. as the meeting-place of practitioners of a 'mystery'-cult, school-room and gymnasium scenes—clearly not biographical in this setting—figure as allegories of the soul's training and initiation.²

The second kind of allegory is a story from history, mythology, or legend which, when first written down, spoken, or expressed in art, had no hidden meaning, but which was used later by a writer, speaker, or artist to drive home spiritual or moral teaching. Stock Biblical examples are St. Paul's use of the story of Hagar supplanted by Sarah to impress upon his readers the supersession of the Jewish Law by the Christian Church (Galatians iv. 24: *ἀτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα*); and his combination of the stories of the crossing of the Red Sea by the Israelites and the striking of the rock by Moses to enforce the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration (1 Corinthians x. 1-4). This allegorical method is a favourite one with Hellenistic and Roman-age writers and artists. Even the crudest legends of the gods can express natural processes and phenomena; while other myths serve to inculcate moral, psychological, and political ideas. Looking, for instance, at scenes from the labours of Hercules for the benefit of mankind the Roman spectator learnt to meditate upon the emperor and his toil for the welfare of the Roman world. Such subjects as the story of Bacchus and Ariadne, or the Dionysiac pre-nuptial initiation of a bride displayed in the famous Villa of the Mysteries (Villa Igem) at Pompeii,³ reflect the joys, trials, and duties of the married state or the ordeals which must precede the soul's 'mystic marriage' with the deity in paradise. It is, indeed, probable that the choice of mythological subjects for Roman domestic murals and floor-mosaics was determined less by chance, caprice, or purely aesthetic and literary

¹ H. Dragendorff and E. Krüger, *Das Grabmal von Igel*, 1924.

² E. Strong and N. C. Jolliffe, *JHS* 1924, pp. 65 ff.; G. Bendinelli, *Mon. Antichi*, 1926, pp. 38 ff.

³ P. B. Mudie-Cooke, *JRS* 1913, 2, pp. 157 ff.; M. Bieber, *JDAI* 1928, pp. 323 ff.; J. M. C. Toynbee, *JRS* 1929, 1, pp. 67 ff.; A. Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri*, ed. 2, 1947.

considerations than by the analogies which could be drawn between these themes and the moral and religious background of the Roman family.¹ Nor was this use of myth and ritual confined to pagans. In catacomb-art Christ as Enchanter of Souls assumes the guise of Orpheus:² in a tomb in the Vatican cemetery He drives, as Sun of Justice, the team of Helios.³ Pegasus appears as an allegory of the Resurrection in the floor-mosaic of the fourth-century basilica at Aquileia. The myth of Venus and her train represents Christian wedlock on the late fourth-century silver bridal casket of Proiecta from the Esquiline.⁴ But nowhere is the allegorical interpretation of ancient mythology more wholeheartedly exploited than in pagan Roman funerary contexts, above all on the sarcophagi. It has been argued that these mythological carvings had no more than a decorative or academic value for their designers and purchasers. But the constant reiteration of set themes suggestive, in one way or other, of death and the after-life indicates that contemporary Romans read in them a deeper meaning. The main ideas expressed in this 'other-worldly' idiom are the 'rape' of the soul from the body at death (the Rape of Persephone, of Ganymede, or of the Leucippides), the contrast between death and immortality (the Dioscuri), the soul's awakening in heaven from the sleep of death (Ariadne, Endymion), its journey across the sea to the Islands of the Blessed (Oceanus with his troop of Tritons, Nereids, and Cupids mounted on dolphins and other sea-creatures), its victory over death (victories of gods over giants, of Greeks over Amazons and other barbarians, Bacchus' triumphal

¹ K. Schefold, *Mélanges Charles Picard*, 1949, pp. 936 ff.; *Vermächtnis der antiken Kunst*, 1950, pp. 171 ff.; *Pompejanische Malerei: Sinn und Ideengeschichte*, 1952 (where, however, the religious and moral implications of the paintings are greatly exaggerated). There would seem to be no evidence for M. P. Nilsson's statement (*Harv. Theol. Rev.* Oct. 1953, pp. 194-5) that the well-to-do commissioners of Roman domestic and funerary monuments of art were easy-going people so far as their religion was concerned, and did not take it seriously. The constant repetition of themes patient of an other-worldly interpretation suggests that they were indeed deeply concerned for their after-life prospects. The occasional presence in such scenes of a light-hearted or even humorous note is no proof to the contrary. To handle grave questions now and then with an intimate and homely touch is, after all, the Latin way.

² I. A. Richmond, *Archaeology, and the After-Life in Pagan and Christian Imagery*, 1950, pl. 7, B.

³ B. M. Apollonj Ghetti, &c., *Esplorazioni sotto la confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano eseguite negli anni 1940-1949*, 1951, i, pls. B, C; O. Perler, *Die Mosaiken der Juliergruft im Vatican*, 1953, pls. 2, 3.

⁴ O. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early-Christian Antiquities, etc., in the British Museum*, 1901; S. Poglajen-Neuwall, *RM* 1930; M. T. Tozzi, *Riv. di Arch. Crist.* 1932.

cortège, Alcestis' return from Hades), and its eternal happiness in paradise (the Dionysiac revel-rout and drinking-contest).

2. *Symbol*

A symbol is that part of a thing, action, or idea which is chosen to represent the whole. In other words, the part contains, tallies with, or 'throws in' with itself, the whole, and, in so doing, becomes pregnant with a meaning far wider than its literal scope. A barbarian captive, whether shown singly or grouped with Victory or emperor, is part or symbol of the barbarian world vanquished or held at bay by the forces of the empire. A lion, as one of a class of courageous or destructive creatures, symbolizes courage or death: as an animal shown in the arena, it stands for the imperial Munificentia, of which the shows were a manifestation.¹ Clasped hands are a symbol of friendship, harmony, and troth, because the clasping of hands is one among several friendly, harmonious, and troth-plighting acts. Rocks, waves, trees (e.g. palm-trees) are, in certain contexts, not 'attributes' or 'adjuncts' (see below), but symbols, as being parts of the natural setting of a country or of a physical feature, alluded to or personified, and as conjuring up a mental picture of the whole locality and landscape in which an action is staged. A lighthouse and a ship are symbols of sea-borne trade as being part of its paraphernalia. The Palladium, the ancient image of Pallas Athena, traditionally brought by Aeneas from Troy to Italy and kept in the storehouse of the temple of Vesta, is a symbol of Rome's *aeternitas*. It was one of her treasures of immemorial antiquity which had ensured her continuous existence in the past; and as such it could stand for Rome herself.² In Romano-Christian art the Chi-Rho monogram represents

¹ e.g. Gnechi, *op. cit.* ii, pl. 46, no. 5 (bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius).

² Interesting evidence of this is supplied by the cuirass-designs in a group of twelve armoured portrait-statues of Hadrian all discovered in Greek lands—at Athens, Corinth, Olympia, Cyrene, and various sites in Crete. Eleven of these figures (ten of which are listed by E. Harrison in *The Athenian Agora I: Portrait Sculpture*, 1953, p. 73, note 2, while another, from Knossos and now in the Herakleion Museum, is unpublished. Cf. *AA* 50, 1935, col. 241) show the Palladium, flanked by owl and serpent, standing on the back of the Wolf and Twins and crowned by two Victories (Fig. 8 c). But on the twelfth statue, also from Knossos and now in the garden of the Villa Ariadne, Roma takes the place of the Palladium, all the other details of the picture, including owl and serpent, remaining the same (*Scritti in onore di Bartolommeo Nogara*, 1937, pl. 69, 1) (Fig. 8 b). The Wolf and Twins, depicting another 'preserving' incident in the story of Rome's primeval past, is also a favourite symbol

Christ Himself as containing the first three letters of His name; and it takes His place in the central scene of the Resurrection in a well-known group of fourth-century Passion-sarcophagi. The monogram, wreathed by the victor's laurel or by fruit, flowers, and leaves, symbols of life, rises triumphant from the tomb, which two realistic Roman soldiers are guarding, a peculiarly vivid instance of the coupling of abstract and concrete in a single picture.¹

Some symbols are metaphorical. In modern England a torch, metaphorically expressing the light brought to the mind by knowledge, indicates on a signboard the presence of a school. In Latin metaphorical language a column, as the chief supporting element in a classical building, is transferred to persons or things regarded as the prop and stay of a man's position (*columen rerum mearum*)² or of a public institution or system (*columen reipublicae*);³ and in the picture-language of the Roman coinage it symbolizes social and political security beside the figure of *Securitas*.⁴ The Symbol of the vine, applied by Christ metaphorically to Himself as expressive of His union with the Church and life-giving power, is one of the most familiar symbols of Romano-Christian art.

Many 'attributes' and 'adjuncts' (see below) are symbols; but not all symbols are 'attributes' or 'adjuncts'.

Symbolism may be defined as a series, code, or system of symbols. A gesture, as used in real life and as reproduced in art, is a symbolic act. Extending the arms, obliquely or vertically, towards an audience or interlocutor, seen or unseen, denotes greeting, speech, or prayer. As the arm of the person greeting, speaking, or praying reaches out physically into space, so his thoughts, words, and desires are projected towards their objects. Hence the figures of *Pietas* on the imperial coinage and of the 'orante' in Romano-Christian art with one arm or both arms raised heavenward.⁵ Laying the finger on the lips,

both of the city and of her *aeternitas*. It is clear that the symbolic language of these cuirass-designs speaks only of Rome, not of Rome (Wolf and Twins) and Athens (Palladium), as has been sometimes suggested.

¹ P. Ducati, *L'Arte in Roma*, 1939, pl. 233, no. 2. Cf. the as yet unpublished wall-paintings of the Sacred Monogram from the Romano-British villa at Lullingstone in Kent (J. M. C. Toynbee, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1953, p. 11; G. W. Meates, *Lullingstone Roman Villa*, 1955, pp. 135-42).

² Horace, *Carm.* ii. 17. 4.

³ Cicero, *Pro Sestio* 8, 19.

⁴ e.g. *BMCRE* i, pl. 28, no. 4; iv, pls. 31, no. 4; 32, no. 11; 42, no. 17.

⁵ e.g. *BMCRE* i, p. 358, note † (Galba: *Æ*: r. hand raised, l. hand on breast); iii, pl. 21,

that is, sealing part of the mechanism through which thought finds utterance, expresses silence, as in the processional scene on the exterior of the south precinct-wall of the Ara Pacis Augustae, where Octavia makes this gesture to warn her daughter, Antonia II, and her son-in-law, Drusus I, who are conversing, of the precept *favete linguis* at a religious ceremony,¹ and in the art-type of the Graeco-Roman Harpocrates.² Sometimes Harpocrates' finger is placed, not on the lips, but just below the mouth or chin;³ and closely allied to this latter version of the silence-gesture, yet apparently distinct in meaning from it, is the Roman gesture of surprise, wonderment, and admiration, in which the finger is placed against, or just in front of, the face or chin, as though to suggest the arresting of an impulse to exclaim or start forward suddenly. The head, as the dominant factor in a nervous or emotional response, is, as it were, checked and forced to pause and reflect.⁴ Hence the gesture of Dido contemplating Aeneas in the Low Ham Virgil mosaic (Fig. 7c)⁵ and of Aeneas confronting Dido in a Virgilian wall-painting from Pompeii (Fig. 8a).⁶ Here are cases, not of silence, but of self-restraint in general. For according to Virgil, Aeneas, released from the cloud, addressed Dido immediately and Dido, beholding Aeneas, forthwith plied him with questions: yet both were still resolved on constancy, the one to a dead husband's memory, the other to the task set him by heaven. In fact, as J. L. Tikkanen has shown from an extensive survey of illustrations drawn

no. 11 (Trajan: Æ: r. hand raised, l. hand on breast); pl. 25, no. 9 (Trajan: Æ: r. hand raised, l. hand on breast); pl. 4b, nos. 8, 13, 20; pl. 48, no. 10 (Hadrian: Æ: r. hand raised, l. hand on breast); pl. 48, nos. 12, 15; pl. 50, no. 17; pl. 52, no. 15; pl. 60, no. 12 (Hadrian: Æ: both hands raised); pls. 78, no. 4; 79, nos. 1, 11; pl. 101, no. 10; pl. 107, nos. 1, 4, 5 (Hadrian: Æ: r. hand raised, l. hand holding incense-box); pl. 101, no. 11 (Hadrian: Æ: r. hand raised, l. hand on breast); pl. 90, no. 14 (Hadrian: Æ: both hands raised). These types of Pietas, with one hand or both hands raised indifferently, established on the coinage under Trajan and Hadrian, were carried on into the Antonine age. It is possible that they were the models of the 'Providentia Deorum' types of Pertinax, in which the figure (of Pietas?) is again shown with one hand or two hands raised indifferently, the left hand, if not raised, being placed on the breast (ibid. v, pl. 1, nos. 9, 10, 11, 12; pl. 2, no. 3; pl. 3, no. 1).

¹ Moretti, op. cit., pl. O.

² Cf. Plutarch, *De Iside* 68: διὸ τῷ στόματι τὸν δάκτυλον ἔχει προσκείμενον, ἐχεμυθίας καὶ σιωπῆς σύμβολον.

³ e.g. miniature bronze figurine from Roman London (JRS 1901, pl. 24. 2).

⁴ Cf. the well-known painted portrait from Pompeii of a poetess composing, with the point of her pen placed against her lips (P. Ducati, *Pittura etrusca, italico-greca e romana*, 1942, pl. 97).

⁵ JRS 1946, pl. 11.

⁶ *Memorie della R. Accademia d'Archeologia di Napoli*, 1918, pl. opp. p. 114.

from Graeco-Roman and proto-Christian art,¹ the same general gesture of raising the hand with pointing finger to or towards the mouth or lower part of the face, can convey a whole range of other 'restraining' emotions and qualities, distinguishable from one another by their contexts—fear, grief, vexation, hesitation, concentration, humility, respect, obedience. In the light of these examples it might be asked whether the single surviving occurrence of the phrase *constantia tacendi* really justifies us in interpreting as silence specifically, rather than as self-control, consistency, and steadfastness of purpose in a wider sense, the gesture of Constantia, with hand raised and index-finger pointing towards the face, in Claudian coin-types.² The new emperor, surprisingly elevated to the highest office in the state, resists the impulse (followed by his predecessor) to set personal interests before perseverance in the highest traditions, civil and military, of his public mission.

3. Personification

A personification, often incorrectly termed 'allegorical figure', belongs essentially to the realm of the plastic arts. It is a human figure invented by an artist to give visual shape and concrete embodiment to a composite concept drawn, or 'abstracted', from actual persons, places, natural phenomena, activities, or things. Such a figure is normally equipped with 'attributes' and/or 'adjuncts' (see below), that is, with objects, animate or inanimate, characteristic of the persons, places, things, &c., from which the concept is derived. This 'shorthand' representation of a country, province, or city is based upon the physical conditions, flora, fauna, history, fortunes, character of the people of the locality in question. Britannia appears in Roman art as a woman with shield, spear, and standard (the warlike nature of the native population, the British garrison), seated on rocks (the rugged hills of northern Britain), or on waves (Britain as an island), or on a globe (Britain's remote situation), in an attitude of vigilance (the 'watch on the Wall') or of dejection (the crushing of rebellion).³ Such a series of figures was invented to diffuse visually knowledge of

¹ 'Zwei Gebärden mit dem Zeigerfinger' (*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, xliii. 2, 1913, pp. 3 ff.).

² *BMCRE* i, p. clii; M. Grant, *NC* 1950, pp. 29 ff., and *RIM* pp. 171 ff., pl. 32.

³ J. M. C. Toynbee, *JRS* 1924, pp. 142 ff.

the spirit, character, and history of the province throughout the western empire. Hispania reclines against Kalpe, the rock of Gibraltar (a conspicuous physical feature of the Iberian peninsula), holds an olive-branch (Spanish oil), and has at her feet a rabbit (the country's fauna or, metaphorically, her mines). These are only samples of a vast array of geographical personifications.¹ A woman pouring coins from a cornucopiae was meant to evoke the thought of that 'virtue' of an emperor, his generosity (*Liberalitas Augusti*), which prompts him to distribute periodic gifts, in cash or kind, to the Roman populace. Precisely the same end was served by straightforward, factual scenes of imperial largesse, labelled *Congiarium* or *Liberalitas* in the case of coin-types, with the emperor seated on a high platform doling out presents, through the hands of officials, to citizens below. But even in these prosaic, 'photographic' pictures the personification, the figure of *Liberalitas*, normally stands beside the human benefactor. It is clear that idealizations of this kind appealed to the Roman mind with almost greater force than those renderings of everyday realities which were, indeed, as we have seen, one of Rome's specific contributions to art. Similarly, on Roman sepulchral monuments the Muses personify the fine arts and intellectual accomplishments which won immortality for those who cultivated them.² It is rarer to find the instruments of such arts, or portraits of the dead plying them, figured on sarcophagi.

In ancient Rome many personifications, such as *Virtus*, *Honos*, *Victoria*, *Pax*, *Concordia*, *Roma*, *Tellus*, and *Annona*, were worshipped as deities with temples and altars and other honours associated with religious cultus. But such 'deities' were in essence divine or supernatural powers, virtues, blessings, political and local 'spirits', inhering, through the favour of the gods proper, in persons, states, and places. *Dea Roma*, although worshipped as a tutelary goddess, was ultimately the superhuman might, majesty, and imperial spirit of Rome, wherein the power and favour of the state gods were manifested; while the *Tychai* or Fortunes of other localities embodied their collective existence and psychology and either the communal dignity and good-fortune which they enjoyed, through heaven's

¹ J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, 1934, part i.

² H. Marrou, *Mouvements d'art*, 1937.

grace, as members of the empire, or their communal disaster as vanquished peoples outside it. No one, at least no educated person, presumably conceived of *Victoria*, *Virtus*, *Pietas*, *Liberalitas*, *Annona*, *Roma*, *Alexandria*, *Hispania*, *Alamannia* as existing objectively and independently of men, activities, states, and places, in the same sense in which *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Hercules*, *Neptune*, *Apollo*, *Vesta*, *Venus*, *Minerva* were held to exist somewhere in an unseen world. The gods were, of course, patrons of natural phenomena (sky, sea, fire), of places (e.g. *Athens*), and of aspects of human life (war, the home, love). But of these things they were not, strictly speaking, personifications. The difference between gods and personifications can be gauged from what happened when the Roman state transferred its allegiance from pagan polytheism to the religion of the One True God of the Christians, the unique object of worship and divine honours. Within little more than a decade of Constantine's conversion the ancient gods and goddesses of the Graeco-Roman pantheon vanished from the official coinage and public monuments of the empire; and with them went *Fortuna* as an independent goddess guiding human destiny for good or ill. Yet the personifications, including the *Tychai* or city-Fortunes, remained and flourished in a new context, shorn of their shrines, altars, and sacrifices, worshipped no longer, but still venerated as embodying those powers, virtues, blessings, and political and local entities which, as God's gifts and creatures, derived their significance from Him and operated in accordance with His will. It is noteworthy that Constantine chose the traditional, Hellenistic figure of a pagan city-Tyche to personify his new Christian Rome, Constantinopolis. And in specifically Christian, unofficial art of the third and fourth centuries, on sarcophagi, in catacomb-paintings, and on church- and tomb-mosaics, the nature-personifications—*Coelus*, the Winds, the Seasons, Earth, Sea, Mountain- and River-'deities'—were a highly popular and constant feature.¹

It is probable that most of the verbal pictures of personifications which have survived to us in classical literature were in the first instance based on or inspired by works of sculpture or painting seen by, or known to, the writers.

¹ J. M. C. Toynbee, *JRS* 1947, pp. 135 ff.

4. *Type*

We are obviously not here concerned with two of the uses of the term 'type' as applied to ancient art, first as a 'kind' or 'class' of monument, rendering, or method of representation, and secondly as a composition or design, the coin- or medallion-type of common numismatic parlance. In the context of picture-language the use of the term is more complex and is closely akin to the second kind of allegory (see above), since it denotes a person, thing, or incident in past history or mythology regarded by a writer, speaker, or artist as foreshadowing someone or something to come. There are the well-known 'theological' types of early-Christian literature and art—the serpent lifted up by Moses in the wilderness, the Paschal Lamb, the sacrifice of Isaac as types of the Crucifixion, the gift of manna in the wilderness as a type of Holy Communion, Jonah's ejection from the belly of the whale as a type of Christ's and the Christian's Resurrection. Familiar pagan examples are Aeneas as a type of Augustus in the *Aeneid* and on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Hercules as a type of Hadrian, 'the great adventurer, traveller, and friend of man', on the imperial coinage.¹

5. *Token*

A token is a mere sign, giving evidence of the existence of, or representing, something. A gift is a token of respect or friendship. A pound note is 'token-money' in that it represents, or is the sign of, a sovereign of gold. A tessera, or tablet, in the hand of the Roman personifications *Annona* (corn-supply) and *Liberalitas* represents the right to receive a dole or to be admitted free of charge to the shows. Such a token is also an 'attribute' (see below).

6. *Badge or emblem*

The badge or emblem of a person is something associated with him accidentally rather than inherently. A moneyer in ancient Rome might take as his badge something suggested by the sound of his name ('canting' badge), or else a scene or object, alluding to an event in the history of his family, as an elephant became the badge of the Metellan *gens* after the capture of Carthaginian elephants during the first Punic war. A badge is, in general, a 'device', something with which a person has come to be associated, as the capricorn (his natal star) and the sphinx

¹ *RIC* ii, p. 34.

(his seal) were badges of Augustus. An emblem is literally something 'put on to' a person or thing to represent or identify its wearer.

7. *Attribute*

An attribute is an object, normally inanimate, very occasionally animate, held by, or in close physical contact with, a human or divine figure, belonging to it, defining it, distinguishing it from other similar figures, and bringing out its particular significance. For instance, a mural crown and cornucopiae distinguish an otherwise 'neutral' female figure as a city-Tyche, scales distinguish it as Aequitas or Moneta, a rudder-on-globe as Fortuna, a caduceus as Pax, a curved sword as Dacia. Similarly, a fulmen and globe distinguish a half-draped, bearded male figure as Jupiter, a trident as Neptune, a serpent-staff as Aesculapius; while a winged cap, purse, and caduceus mark out a youthful male figure as Mercury, patera and cornucopiae as Genius, obelisk as Campus Martius. Remove the attribute and the figure immediately loses its specific character. Many attributes are symbolic in function (see above).

8. *Adjunct*

An adjunct is an object, animate or inanimate, performing much the same work as an attribute. It is an additional 'possession' of a figure, normally set in the field of the design and out of direct, physical relation with its owner. Eagle, peacock, and owl are adjuncts of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; a lion is an adjunct of Cybele, a dromedary of Arabia, a boat of Tiberis, an altar of Pietas. (But not all altars are adjuncts: in the 'adventus'-types of Hadrian, in which the emperor greets the personification of the city or province visited, the altar is not an adjunct of either of the principal figures, but a symbol of the religious rites with which the emperor's arrival was celebrated.) Children are symbolic adjuncts of Judaea and Dacia: they distinguish those figures as personifications of countries noted for their colonies (Aelia Capitolina, in Judaea's case), since children are an essential aspect of the settled life of Roman colonists.

To give a detailed account of all the subjects expressed visually in Roman picture-language would be equivalent to writing a full-dress

history of Roman art in all its branches. A 'dictionary' of these subjects could be compiled from the indexes to textbooks and *corpora* of Roman portraits, other sculptures in the round, reliefs, paintings, mosaics, and minor objects with figured ornament—above all, from the British Museum Catalogues of republican¹ and imperial coins and from Gnechi's corpus of medallions.² A similar task would be involved in describing adequately all the artistic media which picture-language employed. Here our aim must be restricted to reviewing very briefly the chief types of documents relevant to visual picture-language and to making a few observations on their connexions with one another and on their comparative value for this study.

First in importance are the public documents, the coins and medallions, the state-reliefs portraying contemporary events, the official portraits of emperors and of other members of the imperial family. For these are a key to the mind and methods of the chief art-patron and exponent of Rome's visual picture-language—the central government. Of all such documents the coins are the most serviceable for our purpose. They are the most abundant of all monuments and form the most completely-surviving series of works of art which we have. Moreover, since their legends provide us with 'translations' of the language which we are studying, they are of basic value in building up its 'vocabulary' and 'phraseology'. Their flans, ranging in size from those of the small aurei and denarii to the ample, spreading expanses of first- and second-century sestertii, offer fields for a wide variety of designs—single figures, pairs or trios of figures, single objects, small groups of objects, detailed renderings of buildings, and, less frequently, complicated multi-figure scenes, including even the illusion of a crowd, as in the sestertius-type of Hadrian addressing the Roman populace from the *rostra ad aedem Divi Iulii*.³ Indeed, the statement of events or of ideas in picture-form, accompanied by explanatory captions, may be said to constitute Rome's most original contribution to the history of numismatics. Most commonly picture-language in the coin-types takes the form of 'shorthand', a method carried over to the similar medium of the

¹ Cf. E. A. Sydenham, *CRR*.

² Cf. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, 1944.

³ *BMCRE* iv, pl. 81, no. 10. A particularly fine specimen from the Fitzwilliam Collection, showing several tiers of heads rendered in the crowd, is in the Ashmolean Museum.

medallions, also a product of Moneta. But the larger medallion-flans give scope, at times, for designs more elaborate, complex, and delicately-fashioned than any attempted by the die-engravers of the current coinage. Such multi-figure types are rightly termed 'pictorial'; and the question immediately arises of their relation, and, indeed, of the relation of all types, both on coins and medallions, to major works of pictorial art, to relief-sculptures and monumental paintings. Were the former derived or imitated from the latter, or were they independent creations?

It is well known that some coin- and medallion-types appear to depict particular statues, reliefs, and paintings publicly displayed in Rome. In such cases the point of the type was to commemorate the setting up, restoration, or reinterpretation of the work of art in question as an event significant in itself. A number of medallion-types of Hadrian and of the Antonines were conscious representations of earlier masterpieces of sculpture and painting revived for antiquarian and art-historical purposes. Other types of various periods commemorated the erection, dedication, restoration, or 'anniversaries' of temples, arches, columns, altars, or special historical incidents connected with them, by deliberate reproduction of the buildings themselves, perhaps occasionally of salient features of their ornament. But such types were exceptional. What of the far more numerous types which shared with the state-reliefs the role of disseminating the official news, notions, and propaganda 'put across' by the central authority to the Roman public? Did the coin-designers 'extract' their compositions from the work of fellow-artists, relief-sculptors, and painters? Or did they draw their inspiration directly from headquarters, adapting the set themes to their own specific medium, working them out by the methods and principles peculiar to the art in which they had received their training? That training must have included modelling and draughtsmanship in miniature: coin-designers may even occasionally have practised as sculptors and painters;¹ and the coins and medallions themselves supply abundant evidence that the artists employed were among the ablest in the capital, men of great skill and initiative, who are, on *a priori* grounds, unlikely to have borrowed all their ideas, and the forms in which they expressed

¹ C. C. Vermeule, *The Numismatic Circular*, March 1954, pp. 103 f.

them, at second hand from workers in other fields of art. If rightly assigned to the thirties of the first century B.C., the historical frieze from the Basilica Aemilia¹ was anticipated in two, at least, of its themes, the Rape of the Sabine Women and the Punishment of Tarpeia, by denarius-types issued half a century earlier.² Although we have no records of them, public historical reliefs and paintings (other than triumphal paintings) of the late-second and early-first centuries B.C. may have existed in Rome; and admittedly we cannot prove that the Roman imperial coin-designers did not copy contemporary official works of these types which have been lost to us. Admittedly only a fraction of the total number, once existing, of such sculptures have survived, while practically all the paintings have perished. But attempts to show that specific coin-types were directly derived from specific surviving state relief-sculptures have so far proved unsuccessful.³ Moreover, for visual renderings of affairs abroad—battles, campaigns, conquests, the surrender of enemies, settlements with client princes, and so forth—the three main categories of state-employed artists—die-engravers, relief-sculptors, and the painters both of ephemeral triumphal pictures and of permanent murals on public buildings—were largely dependent upon a common source, the sketches made on the spot by official draughtsmen travelling in the retinues of emperors, generals, diplomats, and provincial governors. That such wartime sketches formed the basis of the reliefs of Trajan's Column has been admirably demonstrated by Professor I. A. Richmond;⁴ and many of the literary accounts of triumphal paintings carry details so circumstantial, intimate, and topical that we may infer that drawings done locally by eye-witnesses supplied the substance of the pictures described. Preserved in the state archives, these drawings, possibly supplemented by written reports, would have been accessible to all artists in government service; and quite apart from such sketches, actual captives, walking or carried on

¹ A. Bartoli, *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1951, pp. 289 ff. The frieze might, indeed, date from the reconstruction of the Basilica in 14 B.C.

² *CRR*, pl. 20, no. 698 (Rape of the Sabine Women); pl. 20, no. 699 (Punishment of Tarpeia): 88 B.C.

³ A. C. Levi, *Barbarians on Roman Imperial Coins and Sculpture*, 1952; J. M. C. Toynbee, *NC* 1952, pp. 157 ff.; C. C. Vermeule, *Gnomon*, 1953, pp. 471 ff.

⁴ *BSR* 1935, pp. 1 ff.

fercula in triumphal processions, and trophies of captured arms publicly exhibited, were there to be studied 'from the life' by coin-designers, no less than by other artist-observers, in the streets and *fora* of the capital.

But if coins are the most complete, and, in virtue of their legends, the most informative and reliable source for the interpretation of this picture-language, such examples of the large-scale state-reliefs of the late first century B.C. and of the first, second, and early third centuries A.D. as have come down to us are our main authorities for the detailed and vivid record of the times, places, and settings in which the great occasions of Roman public life were enacted. Where the coin-types may be said to offer us 'words', 'phrases', and short 'sentences', the documentary renderings in stone or marble might be thought of as the equivalents of long 'periods' or 'passages'. Virtually all their counterparts in painting, the great official pictures which once decorated the walls of temples, basilicas, palaces, public baths, and other communal buildings, have vanished; and few mosaics which can be strictly called official have survived. Three remarkable busts, which are possibly portraits of ladies of the Constantinian House, combined with groups of dancing Cupids, have recently been recovered among the remains of paintings from the coffered ceiling of an imperial hall below Trier Cathedral;¹ and we have a literary reference to a painted Constantinian 'conversation-piece' depicting the imperial family in the palace of Maximian at Aquileia.² The great fourth-century painting of Roma from the *Domus Lateranorum*, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano, much restored as it is, gives us perhaps our best idea of the painted documents of picture-language in late antiquity.³ Imperial portraits in the round, both busts and full-length statues, often provide us, not only with vivid, realistic likenesses of the individuals concerned, but also with consciously idealized features and with a wealth of symbols, attributes, and adjuncts; and they thus rank, no less than statues in the round of gods, mythological figures, and personifications, as important matter for the study of picture-language. To a lesser degree this is also true of cameo- and

¹ T. K. Kempf, *Aus der Schatzkammer des antiken Trier*, 1951, pp. 45 ff.

² *Paneg. Lat.* vi. 6.

³ J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, etc. iv, pl. 125.

medallion-portraits, occasionally of the obverse-portraits of the regular coinage.

Intermediate between public and private monuments are the fourth-century *contorniates*, coin-like in structure and superficial appearance, borrowing not infrequently from earlier coin-types, and using the picture-language methods of the coinage, but not themselves functioning as coins. Whether they were official, in the sense of being state-inspired, or semi-official, as being issued by one section of society (by the pagan aristocracy of the capital, according to the view of Professor Alföldi¹), is as yet undetermined. Popular in content, and patently non-aristocratic in style, they were closely connected with the public shows, since the overwhelming majority of their reverse-types are scenes from the circus—famous race-horses in action with their no less famous drivers. The obverse-portraits are mainly those of emperors who patronized the games, Nero and Trajan, and of Alexander the Great, embodiment of good luck for competitors and backers alike. The small minority of portraits of philosophers and poets and of scenes from history, mythology, and daily life could be explained, without undue strain, as references to dramatic, literary, and rhetorical contests held at the time of the spectacles, and to the upkeep and provisioning of the shows. Were *contorniates* distributed to the populace as mementoes of the many festivals with which the Roman year was punctuated?²

Of surviving private monuments relevant to picture-language by far the most numerous are funerary. Some of the allegorical sarcophagi and *stelae* have been discussed earlier in this paper. All sarcophagus-designs are, in fact, allegories, symbols, or personifications within the orbit of sepulchral imagery—garlands of fruit and flowers (tomb-offerings) often upheld by Cupids (the souls of the dead); vintaging Cupids (the bliss of paradise); protomes of ravening lions (death's destructiveness); vigilant griffins guarding the tomb (the inviolability of the dead), marriage-scenes (unending love and harmony); the four Seasons (the cycle of eternal life). Such scenes have their counterparts in tomb-paintings, notably those in the second- and third-century A.D. mausolea of middle-class bourgeois families, mainly of freedman stock, at Isola Sacra near Ostia and on the Vatican,

¹ A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten*, 1942.

² J. M. C. Toynbee, *JRS* 1945, pp. 115 ff.

and in the paintings of the Christian catacombs. Some of the mythological subjects chosen for house-decoration may, as we saw, have carried a moral and religious message. It is harder to decide whether such thoughts were conjured up by *genre-scenes*, episodes from daily avocations, studies of fruit, flowers, gardens, and idyllic landscapes; or whether these themes were, in domestic contexts, purely decorative or topical. Tomb-mosaics reproduce many of the mythological subjects common to sepulchral paintings and sarcophagi; and the great majority of domestic figured pavements were also mythological and perhaps no less susceptible to eschatological and ethical interpretation. Stucco reliefs from shrines, tombs, baths, and private houses, and wall-plaques of terracotta or marble, repeat many of the favourite themes of wall-painters, mosaicists, and sarcophagus-decorators and have little independent value for the study of picture-language. Nor can we expect to glean much fresh information as to its 'vocabulary' and 'grammar' from minor works of private art—gems, figured silver vessels, figured glass, bronze and terracotta figurines, decorated bronze 'sports'-armour worn in the cavalry-exercises of the Roman *auxilia*, bronze and terracotta lamps, ivory figurines, caskets, plaques, and diptychs, and figured pottery.

The foregoing sketch should serve to establish visual picture-language as a method of communication in the Roman world no less widespread and potent than the written or spoken word. It had its rules, its 'vocabulary', 'grammar', and 'idiom' understood and accepted throughout the empire. It postulated in those to whom it was addressed keen eyes for visual detail, a highly-developed feeling for the past, imaginative intuition in delving beneath outward appearances. To learn this language, to be able to translate it, and to apply the knowledge to the interpretation both of long-known and of newly-revealed monuments is the business of all students of Roman civilization and history. It is obvious that to Roman observers figures and scenes which sometimes baffle us were clearly-intelligible and illuminating statements of facts and ideas. To find the keys to unsolved problems of picture-language should not now be beyond us. No one has done more in achieving past discoveries and in promoting future search than the great numismatist to whose honour this volume is dedicated.

XIII

SYSTEM AND PRODUCT IN THE ROMAN MINT

By R. A. G. CARSON

IT is in great part due to the originality, range, and detail of Harold Mattingly's work that numismatics, certainly in the Roman field, is now accorded a place amongst the auxiliary disciplines of historical study. The particular value of numismatic testimony when presented as it has been by him is not that it provides corroboration of evidence provided by other sources but that in periods, otherwise poorly documented, it can supply the primary, occasionally the sole, evidence for events. In the field of chronology, too, a large portion of the Roman imperial coinage provides a series of dated documents whose immediate use to the archaeologist is invaluable and whose auxiliary use to the general historian is not negligible.

The greater portion, however, of the imperial coinage is undated and it is the task of the numismatist, by collecting, annotating, and interpreting the coin material, to reduce this unwieldy body of coinage to a condition in which accurate use can be made of it by other scholars. Great advances have been made on the quite nugatory alphabetical system of Cohen and other nineteenth-century numismatists in such works as the *British Museum Catalogues*,¹ but even here there are large tracts of coinage which have been given no closer attribution than to a period of some four or five years. If the successive issues of such series could be worked out, the pattern of numismatic activity could be presented in more detail.

A number of methods of achieving this end suggest themselves. In some Greek coinages it has proved possible to establish the successive

¹ Harold Mattingly, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vols. i-v, London, 1923-50 (= *BMCRE*).

issues of an undated coinage by a close study of the dies: but, whereas the coinage of a Greek city state of a limited size can be subjected to such detailed examination, the sheer mass of the ordinary Roman imperial issues makes this method, if not quite impossible, impossibly tedious. Much of the chronology of Republican issues has been built up by the use of hoard evidence¹ but in the imperial series, because of the comparative abundance of dated coins, this method has not been much used. It is quite possible to reduce a long undated series of coins to an established successive pattern by an analysis of a number of hoards terminating at a variety of points within the given period. The two impediments to this method are the lack of adequately accurate reports of hoards and the lack of a comprehensive bibliography of Roman coin hoards.

The third method, and the one which offers most prospect of immediate results, is to establish for various periods the pattern to which coinage issues conform. Coin issues are the ends of certain means, the results of a certain system. If some reasonable idea can be established of the organization and machinery of the Roman mint, the pattern into which its product, the coin issues, falls should then also be perceivable with reasonable accuracy. Which of the types of any undated series of coins were the major substantive types can readily be established by collecting the statistics of a number of hoards: these may then, by reference to the criteria of dated coins, by reference of type to known historical events and so on, be attributed to successive issues whose pattern and shape has been suggested by the organization of the mint.

This inquiry is limited to the mint at Rome and is particularly concerned with the first three centuries of the Empire, when Rome was, with temporary exceptions, the sole centre of issue of imperial coinage. Before the question of the organization of the Roman mint can be tackled one major problem must be dealt with: namely, was the 'mint of Rome' one mint or two mints? It will be convenient to examine, in turn, the external and the internal evidence for the mint(s) of Rome.

¹ H. A. Grueber, *Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, vols. i-iii, London, 1910, especially i, pp. cvii-cxvii, and iii, pp. 2-59 (= *BMCR*); E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, London, 1952, pp. i-lviii (= *CRR*).

The site of the mint(s) throughout the first three centuries of the empire is not beyond controversy. Livy placed the mint of the Republican period on the Capitoline in or near the temple of Juno Moneta.¹ The etymology of *moneta*, which has given rise to much controversy,² is not germane to the present inquiry; it is sufficient that Juno's attribute *moneta* came to mean not only 'coin' but also 'mint'. To Livy, too, is due the latest mention of the mint on the Capitoline—some time between the battle of Actium, in 31 B.C., and 10 B.C. The date cannot be set more accurately than that the mention occurs in one of the earlier books, but Livy could still, in discussing the house of Manlius on the Capitoline, write 'ubi nunc aedes atque officina Monetae est'.³

There follows a considerable gap in the certain evidence for the mint in Rome, for it is not until almost a century and a half after Livy's mention that inscriptions of the reign of Trajan allude to the mint. In 1585 several inscriptions⁴ with dedications to Apollo, Fortuna, Hercules, Victoria, and the *genius familiae monetalis* by the officials *monetae Caesaris nostri* were discovered on Mons Coelius, close to the present site of S. Clemente.⁵ These inscriptions date from A.D. 115. There is no later specific evidence for the site of the mint but the accounts of the war of the moneyers under Felicissimus the *rationalis* in A.D. 274 place the events also on Mons Coelius.⁶

Mommsen's conception of the principate as a dyarchy of emperor and senate was extended to the coinage which was seen as two separate series, an imperial and a senatorial. Whatever the validity of the theoretical conception, it does not seem to have had much reality. It has recently been demonstrated that as early as Tiberius the *aes* coinage, though still bearing the complimentary SC, was obviously directly influenced, to put it at its lowest, by the emperor.⁷ Mommsen,

¹ Livy vi. 20. 13.

² The principal contributions are: E. Ashmann, 'Moneta' in *Klio* 1906, pp. 477 ff.; V. Costansi, 'Moneta' in *Klio* 1907, pp. 335 ff.; E. Babelon, 'Moneta' in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, xxxix, 1913, pp. 5-36; W. Giesecke, 'Moneta' in *Werden und Wirken: Festschrift für K. W. Hirssemann*, 1925, pp. 89 ff.

³ Livy, loc. cit.

⁴ *CIL* vi. 42, 43, 44, 791, and 239.

⁵ For the site on the Via Labicana, see R. Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi di Roma*, iii, Rome, 1907, p. 152.

⁶ *SHA*, Aurelian, 38, 3-4; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, xxv. 6.

⁷ *CRIP* pp. 93-94.

however, in editing the Trajanic mint inscriptions, made much of the fact that there was no specific mention of *aes officinae* and that the mint was described as *Moneta Caesaris Nostri*.¹ Mommsen's theory has died hard and still has adherents. Indeed Mattingly in his most recent definition of his views on this point regards the imperial and senatorial mints as separate organizations inside one great establishment, but with a number of differences which are held to be significant.²

I would respectfully suggest that two of the differences involving titulature are purely administrative (new dies for *aes* coinage were not required as early as for the precious metals); special elaborate types do not provide a criterion for the general behaviour of the mint system; and the suggestion that the meagre *aes* coinage after A.D. 192 is due to senatorial sympathy with Albinus and hostility to Severus supposes a degree of senatorial strong-minded independence seldom, if ever, evinced and unlikely under a military monarchy.

We have nowhere a specific statement that there were in Rome separate mints for the *aes* coinage and the precious metal issues. Under Augustus there was a mint on the Capitoline as in Republican times and by the reign of Trajan there was a mint in the third region:³ but most likely there was, from Augustus onwards, at any one time only one mint, the *Moneta Caesaris*. At what date this mint was transferred from the Capitoline is difficult to determine. The earliest date, suggested by Mowat,⁴ is under Augustus himself, but as it is now generally accepted that the precious metal coinage in the early principate was produced outside Rome⁵ the existing mint facilities in Rome were probably initially adequate for the *aes* coinage and the date of the change can be looked for after the unification of all issues in Rome early in the reign of Caligula.⁶

¹ *CIL* vi, p. 8: 'sub Caesaribus notum est auri et argenti feriendi ius apud eos fuisse; aeris apud Senatum. Inde explicatur quod officinatores monetae aurariae argentariae Caesaris de aere tacent, contra quod praepositus monetae dicitur optio et exactor auri argenti aeris inde colligimus ea aetate penes Caesares aereae monetae non cudendae sed exigendae ius fuisse.'

² *BMCRE* v, pp. xxii ff.; see also review by M. Grant in *NC* 1950, pp. 158 ff.

³ H. Jordan, *Forma Urbis Romae Regionum XIV*, Berlin, 1873, p. 49; *Notitia Urbis Regionum XIII*, 'Regio III, Isis et Serapis continet monetam'.

⁴ R. Mowat, 'Le Bureau de l'Équité et les ateliers de la Monnaie impériale à Rome' in *NZ* 1909, p. 109.

⁵ *BMCRE* i, p. xvi.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

Archaeologically there is little to determine the date of the establishment of the mint in the third region where its site is associated with the complex of Nero's Domus Aurea.¹ Indeed it is held by some that, as the mint site was occupied by the Domus Aurea, the establishment of this mint cannot be earlier than Vespasian, who began the restoration of the site to public uses.² But the controversy over the extent of the Domus Aurea leaves an earlier date still possible. From the historians only some probabilities can be gathered. The Capitol, the site of the Republican and early Imperial mint, was spared destruction in the fire of A.D. 64,³ but the fire which occurred when the supporters of Vitellius were besieged in the Capitol in December 69 presumably took toll of the mint as well.⁴ The fact that the historians writing of the fires of 69 and 80 on the Capitol make no specific reference to the destruction of the mint has been advanced as evidence that the mint no longer existed there:⁵ the actual mint may have been moved but the *aedes monetae* would have remained and, in any event, the destruction is not always described in full detail.

The internal evidence of the coinage itself in relation to the great fires is contradictory. In the argument for a continuing, separate senatorial mint for *aes* it has been pointed out that after the fire of 69 on the Capitol *aes* issues for Vespasian are rare but not his precious metals; that Titus' *aes* after the fire on the Capitol in 80 is rare (but so, apparently, are his precious metal issues); that Domitian has, in 81, parallel issues in all metals and that *aes* ceases in 82 while the mint is being transferred back to the Capitol.⁶ However, the importance of coinage both for the economy and for propaganda made its production important and a falling off in coinage is unlikely to have been due to lack of facilities. The ability of usurpers to produce coinage, even in out-of-the-way places in the empire, reminds us that the basic equipment was elementary and could be readily improvised.

The mint attested by the inscriptions of A.D. 115⁷ could not have

¹ Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London, 1929, s.v. Domus Aurea, p. 167.

² H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Altertum*, Berlin, 1906, I. 3, p. 303; but see Platner and Ashby, op. cit., pp. 169 and 171.

³ CAH x, p. 722.

⁴ Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 71.

⁵ Cf. E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, I. 1, col. 973.

⁶ BMCRE iii, p. xvii.

⁷ See p. 229, n. 4, above.

existed in its then form earlier than 64 when the district was swept by the fire which damaged Nero's *Domus Transitoria* which he replaced by the *Domus Aurea*.¹ Somewhere after 64 is as likely a date as any for the transfer of the new mint from the Capitol. Nero's complex of new buildings was for administrative as well as residential purposes and the change at this date may be connected with Nero's coinage reform of 64.²

For the administrative organization and the functional organization of the mint of Rome from Diocletian onwards there is a fair amount of evidence. The administration of the mint of Rome (and of the other mints scattered throughout the empire) was one of the responsibilities of the office of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*.³ At the head of each mint was a *procurator monetæ* with under him a number of *praepositi* whose role will be discussed later.⁴

For the administrative officials in the early empire there is little evidence. The Republican magistrates responsible for the coinage, the *tresviri aere argento auro flando feriundo*, continue for a short time to sign the Augustan coinage of Rome. Their names last appear on the precious metal issues in 12 B.C. and on the *aes* in 4 B.C.,⁵ but though the names of the *tresviri* are attested by inscriptions into the third century presumably the office had early become nominal.⁶ Under the empire responsibility for the mint soon passed to the emperor's *a rationibus* and certainly by the reign of Trajan the head of the mint is attested as an equestrian, the *procurator monetæ*.⁷ It has been conjectured that Julius Quadratus, the ἐπιμελη[τὴν μονητῆς] recorded under Domitian, was the 'curator' of the Roman mint. The difficulty is that Quadratus was a senator holding a post soon to be held by an equestrian; but the reading is at best conjectural.⁸ There is little external evidence for

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 38 and 42; Platner and Ashby, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Domus Transitoria*.

² E. Babelon, 'Moneta' in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, xxxix, 1913, p. 475; *BMCRE* i, pp. xlix ff.

³ J. P. C. Kent, *The Office of Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, University of London, Ph.D. thesis, 1951. See pp. 189-204 above.

⁴ *CIL* vi. 1145.

⁵ *BMCRE* i, pp. xcvi ff.; for a terminal date of A.D. 10-14 for the *aes* coinage see *SMACA* pp. 109 f.

⁶ F. Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, iii, pp. 185 ff.

⁷ *CIL* vi. 1607, 1625.

⁸ A. von Premerstein, 'C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus' in *Sitzb. d. Bay. Ak. Wiss., Phil.-Hist.* Kl. 1934, pp. 3 ff.

administrative officials of the mint in the third century. An inscription records the *cursus* of a *procurator monetæ Trivericæ*,¹ whose activity has been referred to the pre-Diocletianic mint at Trier under the Gallic emperors. Almost the only other official mentioned is the *procurator fisci*, Felicissimus, whom Aurelian describes as the instigator of the moneyers' revolt in 274.²

The importance for the present purpose of this slight evidence is that although the upward chain of administrative responsibility takes different forms it establishes the tradition of a *procurator monetæ* as head of the mint from the time of Trajan (with a conjectural inception of the post with the recommencement of issues in all metals at Rome under Caligula) up to and after the reforms of Diocletian, till the end of the Western Empire.³ For the functional organization of the mint under the *procurator monetæ* the external evidence, almost all epigraphic, is fragmentary. The picture of this organization which should provide the main lines of the pattern to be sought in the coinage issues must therefore be put together from a variety of sources. Though it may prove impossible to establish quite such a certain and continuing tradition of organization as for the *procurator monetæ*, it is certain that the Roman coinage like other things Roman *was* organized and was systematically produced, despite the shapeless impression given by such records as that of Cohen.

The most important evidence is again that of the well-known inscriptions of Trajanic date from the site of the mint in the third region.⁴ This series of dedications records the officials who were concerned with the production of the coinage. Of these the most senior, who appears on three inscriptions, on one occasion as the sole dedicatory, is the 'optio et exactor auri argenti et aeris';⁵ next in rank is his second in command, an *optio* with whom are associated on the second inscription 25 *offinatores*;⁶ the third inscription records the *optio et exactor* again, together with the craftsmen, the *signatores*, *suppostores*, and *malleatores*.⁷ It does seem that in these three inscriptions certain distinctions in rank have been drawn. Felix, the *optio et exactor*, appears alone, then in conjunction with an *optio* and the

¹ CIL vi. 1641.

³ Cassiodorus, *Var.* 32.

⁵ CIL vi. 42.

² See p. 229, n. 6, above.

⁴ See p. 229, n. 4, above.

⁶ CIL vi. 43.

⁷ CIL vi. 44.

officinatores, and, lastly, together with the craftsmen. The *optio et exactor* was, presumably, the technical head of the whole mint with under him an *optio* as a deputy in charge of the precious-metal section, divided into a number of *officinae* or workshops whose heads, the *officinatores*, join also in this dedication. The craftsmen of the third inscription formed yet another grade. In an inscription of Constantinian date a dedication by the 'procurator sacrae monetae urbis una cum praepositis et officinatoribus',¹ the *praepositi* seem to take the place of the *optio et exactor* of the Trajanic inscription. Yet another inscription records a 'prepositus mediastinorum de moneta oficina prima'.² On the strength of the find-spot, Ostia, this has been dated to the early years of the fourth century and referred to the mint of Ostia which only then was active. It may well be so, but in the absence of any other indication of date, and because of the proximity of Ostia to Rome, *moneta* could also refer to the important *moneta* of Rome. It has been contended, particularly in view of the Constantinian inscription, that *officinatores* is only a generic term for operatives and was used in this inscription to include all the mint employees not specifically mentioned. Against this, however, the Trajanic inscriptions, with their careful distinctions, support the idea of *officinatores*³ as a definite and more senior grade; and the terminology, as will appear, is appropriate.

That the *officinatores* are described as *monetae aurariae argentariae Caesaris nostri* has been taken to prove that the *moneta aeraria*, the 'senatorial' mint, was elsewhere, but the *exactor* was the superintendent for all three metals and the craftsmen are not defined as belonging to the minting of any specific metal. A further statue-base dedication, to Victoria, of the same year, found at a later date and in the vicinity, was made by the *conductores flaturae argentariae monetae Caesaris*,⁴ and it is not unlikely that there are gaps in this series.⁵ Inscriptions, usually funerary, from other sites in Rome and of uncertain date perhaps record something of the missing portion, a *manceps officinarum aerarium*.⁶ This *manceps* may be the equivalent for the *aes* coinage of

¹ CIL vi. 1145.

² CIL xiv. 1878.

³ Lewis and Short, s.v. *Officinator*, 'a master-workman'.

⁴ CIL vi. 791.

⁵ R. Mowat, 'Le Bureau de l'Équité et de la Monnaie impériale à Rome' in NZ 1904, pp. 104-7.

⁶ CIL vi. 8453; cf. CIL xiv. 3642.

the *optio monetae aurariae argentariae*. The precise duties of the various craftsmen and the other categories of employees for whom there is evidence require no discussion here, as they fall inside the major functioning units of the mint which alone it is hoped to establish.¹

There can be no doubt that the term for the sections into which the mint was divided was *officinae*. The 'Ostian' inscription used the term *de moneta oficina* [sic] *prima*² and the abbreviation OF, P, S, &c., is found on coins.³ From an examination of the *officinae* system in the mint of Rome and of the coins which were the products of that system, it should be possible to work out the relationship between system and product which should facilitate the arrangement of the coinage in a better defined manner.

The relating of system and product is comparatively and increasingly simple from about the middle of the third century onwards when a majority of the coins bear the mark of the particular workshop in which they were struck. After the coinage reform of Diocletian (in A.D. 295) the majority of the coins of the mint of Rome carry not only the signature of the mint in abbreviated form but also the mark of the *officina*. While this is almost invariably true in the case of the base metal coins, which, as they were issued in vast quantity, required to be differentiated for control, it applies, too, if in a somewhat less degree, to the issues in silver and gold.⁴ The coinage of the Tetrarchies was produced by four *officinae* at Rome, marked P, S, T, and Q, and this number of workshops seems to have remained constant until, somewhere about 330, a fifth *officina* signing itself E was added. The activity of these five *officinae* persists in the majority of issues throughout the fourth century and into the fifth century until through the contraction of coinage and the breakdown of organization in this as in other fields the system ceases to be evident.⁵

From a survey of the coinage from the Tetrarchy to the fifth

¹ Though not discussed it may be useful to assemble here the mentions of other officials and craftsmen of the mint: *aequatores* and *scalptores*, CIL vi. 8464; *dispensatores*, ibid. 8454; *flaturarii*, ibid. 8456; *superpositus*, ibid. 8461; *numularii*, *familia monetaria*, ibid. 8461, 298, 239.

² See p. 234, n. 2, above.

³ RIC ix, p. 135.

⁴ For a survey of this coinage see O. Voetter, *Katalog Paul Gerin: die Münzen der römischen Kaiser, Kaiserinnen und Caesaren von Diocletianus bis Romulus*, Wien, 1921; J. Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne*, Paris, 1908-11; RIC ix.

⁵ E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1901, i, cols. 167 ff.

century it emerges that a given reverse type was not limited to one *officina* but rather that all *officinae* combined in producing the same reverse type. In this period the coinage is rarely that of a single emperor and, where there are a number of co-emperors, *officinae* appear to have been allocated in some issues to produce the coinage of particular emperors. On other occasions, however, the whole range of *officinae* struck the same type for more than one emperor.

This highly developed system of *officina* marking in the fourth and fifth centuries has its beginnings no earlier than the reign of Philip, 244-9.¹ The development of the system shows roughly three stages. From the later issues of Aurelian up to the earlier coinage of Diocletian there were normally seven *officinae* active at the mint of Rome, though there is an exceptional number of ten for part of Aurelian's later issues. The method of marking the different workshops included the Roman ordinal contractions P, S, T, Q, and the numerals from V onwards and a system of Greek numerals, usually A to Z.² In this period, in the case of some issues, a single reverse type was produced by all the *officinae*; but in other instances only some of the workshops strike an identical reverse. In the latter case an issue must have comprised several reverse types, but the material has not yet been adequately collected to assert this and has not yet been analysed to determine which types, if this is the case, go to form an issue.

In the period which immediately precedes, the relation between product and system appears to be the same but the system itself is somewhat different. From the earlier issues of Aurelian back to the sole reign of Gallienus there were up to twelve *officinae* at Rome, usually marked by a mixture of Greek numerals A up to H, the Latin ordinal contraction N instead of Θ and the Roman numerals X, XI, and XII.³ The earliest phase of *officina*-marked coinage, however, from the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus back to the millenary issues of Philip, demonstrates that, although the sets of *officina* marks are incomplete for most emperors, the mint of Rome was organized in that period in six *officinae* which are marked on the coins by either Roman numerals I to VI or Greek numerals A to S.⁴ The relation, in this period of coinage, between system and product is clearly seen

¹ RIC iv (3), pp. 69-71.

³ RIC v (1), esp. pp. 602-19.

² RIC v (1), pp. 1-309.

⁴ RIC iv (3), p. 20.

to be that each workshop was responsible for producing, in an issue, one specific reverse type.

It is certain enough that the system of *officina* organization which is marked for the first time on the millenary issues of Philip in 248 was not itself new at that time; for the inscriptions which were considered above make it clear that by the early second century some organization of the mint in *officinae* was in existence.¹ Investigation of the lines along which the republican mint of Rome was organized is still awaited, but from the magnitude and concentration of issues at certain times it seems that some system of contracting out work to private firms must have been in force. For instance, the extensive issues with sequence marks of D. Silanus, L. Piso Frugi, C. Vibius Pansa, L. Titurius, and C. Censorinus in 88–87 B.C.² would presumably have been too much for the resources of the mint on the Capitol. For the early empire, a recent investigation of the *aes* coinage of Galba gives grounds for supposing that the greatest number of *officinae* in use at one time for this coinage was four.³ Attempts have been made to work out from the statistics of the Rome mint inscriptions the number of *officinae* involved in the early second century, but since the information is fragmentary, no satisfactory and trustworthy conclusion can be reached.⁴

Quite a considerable section of the coinage before 238 without *officina* mark has now been investigated with the specific object of distinguishing the work of the *officinae* and establishing successive issues of coinage. In this field most of the work is to the credit of the Vienna school for, as early as 1894, Voetter suggested an arrangement of the coinage of Gordian III, A.D. 238–44, in successive issues as the product of six *officinae* and also made a similar arrangement of the coinage of Maximinus, A.D. 235–8.⁵ Pink⁶ and his pupils in Vienna have since 1933 taken up again this task of recovering the simple

¹ See p. 234 above.

² *BMCRR* i, pp. 244–306.

³ C. M. Kraay, *The aes coinage of Rome and its subsidiary mints in the West, A.D. 68–81* (unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxford), 1953.

⁴ J. H. Jongkees, 'Het Muntbedrijf in de Oudheid' in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 58, 1934, pp. 185 ff.

⁵ O. Voetter, 'Die römischen Münzen Gordianus III und deren antike Fälschungen' in *NZ* 1894, pp. 385 ff.

⁶ 'Der Aufbau der römischen Münzprägung in der Kaiserzeit' in *NZ* 1933–53.

ground-plan of the mint and, in investigating the coinage from Septimius Severus up to the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus, have been able to demonstrate the continued activity of a mint organization of six workshops.

It is unfortunate that circumstances compelled the publication of those studies in such an extremely abbreviated form that the reasons for any particular arrangement can only be guessed at. To this particular facet of Roman numismatics Mattingly, with his analysis of the great Dorchester hoard,¹ has made his contribution also, a contribution valuable not only for the result (which confirmed, with some modifications, Pink's issue and *officina* arrangements of the coinage of Gordian III) but also for the method combining quantitative analysis with historical and numismatic criteria. Le Gentilhomme, too, subsequently used this method in his studies of two large third-century hoards in France² and more recently a similar analysis, combined with a detailed study of dies, carried out by Naster³ on a large hoard of coins of Postumus has added to the certainty of the arrangement of this coinage by Elmer.⁴

An investigation along similar lines of the coinage from 222 to 235 seems to confirm the organization of the mint in that period in six workshops.⁵ In the introduction to his last volume of the British Museum Catalogue Mattingly suggested that the organization from Pertinax to Elagabalus seemed to be that of five *officinae* only,⁶ but a recent close study of the dies of the coinage of Pertinax and Didius Julianus⁷ has established that at the end of the second century the six-*officinae* system was already in being. This analysis of dies showed a number of obverse die-links between reverse types which had always been supposed to distinguish the work of separate *officinae*. But some system of central control of the more important obverse dies in the

¹ H. Mattingly, 'The Great Dorchester Hoard' in NC 1939, pp. 21 ff.; also RIC iv (3), pp. xiv-xix.

² P. le Gentilhomme, 'La Trouvaille de Nanterre' in RN 1946, pp. 2 ff.; 'La Trouvaille de la Vineuse' in RN 1942, pp. 23 ff.

³ P. Naster, 'La Trouvaille d'antoniniani de Grotenberge et le monnayage de Postume' in RBN 1951, pp. 25 ff.

⁴ G. Elmer, 'Die Münzprägung der gallischen Kaiser in Köln, Trier, und Mailand' in Bonner Jahrbuch, Heft 146, 1941.

⁵ BMCRE vi (to be published).

⁶ BMCRE v, p. xxv.

⁷ Proceedings of the Royal Numismatic Society, October 1953, in NC 1954.

mint could account for this occasional die-linkage between *officinae*; for, where die-analysis has been made and an obverse die is found shared by two reverses, one of the reverses usually predominates.

The earliest *officina* marks, found with only one reverse type in any issue, confirm that in the earlier third century the major identification mark of an *officina* product is the reverse type.¹ When the coinage from Septimius Severus to Elagabalus has been reanalysed by this method to confirm and modify, where necessary, the arrangement already suggested by Pink it should be possible to determine within very close limits the place of any coin, even when undated, from 193 onwards. It has not yet been determined how far back into the second century this particular mint organization can be detected as being reflected in the coinage. A very superficial scrutiny directed at three points, taken at random, in the coinage of Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, and Trajan suggested that it was inherently most probable that the six-*officinae* mint plan could be detected in these reigns. It will be necessary to collect and analyse the material for the second century to determine the plan of the mint organization and the consequent pattern of coin issues.

It does seem possible that this method of analysing coinage can produce a detailed arrangement in much of the Roman coinage otherwise not easily subject to definition. That both the material and the means for attempting such a definition are so readily to hand is due to the inspired industry of Harold Mattingly to whom it is my privilege to offer this essay with respect and gratitude.

¹ *RIC* iv (3), pp. 69-71.

XIV

THE ROMAN LAW OF COUNTERFEITING¹

By PHILIP GRIERSON

IN all legal systems, the measures taken to repress the counterfeiting of coin tend to vacillate between two different conceptions of what the offence involves. On the one hand, it can be regarded as a form of fraud, practised primarily against the individual and secondarily against the state. A person who is given in payment a false coin, or a genuine coin whose value has been reduced by maltreatment, is defrauded by having received something which he cannot legally get rid of and which is usually of less intrinsic value than the coin to which he was entitled. The state is defrauded because coinage is a source of profit, the profit being very large when the coins are tokens, and because the manufacture of false coins reduces the demand for the state's products both directly, since the false coins satisfy what would otherwise be a demand for genuine coins, and indirectly, since the prevalence of false coins shakes the public faith in those that are genuine and so diminishes their value.

It is at this point that what may broadly be termed the ethical objections to counterfeiting link up with the political objections to it. Since counterfeiting affects the value of the money issued by the state, it is an offence against public order and security. Since the issue of coins has been at almost all times an attribute of sovereignty, it is a usurpation of this attribute by an unauthorized person. On either ground it may be construed as treason. When the state or the ruler claims divine attributes, counterfeiting becomes not merely treason

¹ The best summary of the law is in Theodor Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 672-4, but this is not concerned with its history and does not differentiate sufficiently clearly between the various categories of offences it covered. There is an excellent article on 'Münzverbrechen' by R. Taubenschlag in *RE*; that of G. Humbert on 'Moneta falsa' in Daremberg-Saglio is less satisfactory.

but blasphemy and sacrilege, since it is the usurpation of a prerogative proper to the deity, or at least to his human embodiment, and involves the mishandling of sacred objects. By a development of this line of thought, the category of offences against the currency is pushed far beyond the limits which would be imposed if only the concept of fraud were involved. Defacing or melting the coin, or refusing to accept it in a commercial transaction, become constructive treasons punishable with the full rigour of the law.¹

The legislation of the Roman empire with regard to counterfeiting has usually been considered as embodying in its extreme form the political doctrine which equated offences against the *sacra moneta* of the emperors with treason and blasphemy and punished them with death, inflicted usually in no very agreeable fashion. A constitution of Theodosius the Great addressed to the Count of the Sacred Largesses stated bluntly that those guilty of the crime of *falsa moneta* were to be regarded as guilty of treason,² the penalty for which was burning alive, and this definition of the offence and the frightful punishment it involved were repeated in the Code of Justinian.³ On the surface, nothing could seem more clearly to justify the view that the Romans regarded all coinage as what in the Middle Ages would have been termed a *ius regale*, a breach of which was the most serious offence known to the law.

A closer examination of the texts shows that the concepts lying behind the Roman law of counterfeiting were of a different character, and that 'moneta', in the context of the Theodosian pronouncement, was a less comprehensive term than later commentators supposed. The view that counterfeiting was no more than a species of fraud was deeply embedded in Roman jurisprudence. Under the principate the law systematically distinguished between the counterfeiting of the gold and silver coinage on one hand and that of bronze⁴ on the other, and this distinction was carried over into the dominate and had

¹ Blackstone, in the eighteenth century, made a considered protest against this whole line of thought, on the ground of 'counterfeiting or debasing the coin being usually practised, rather for the sake of private and unlawful lucre, than out of any disaffection to the sovereign' (*Commentaries*, book iv, ch. 6, § 2).

² Below, p. 251.

³ *CJ* 9. 24. 2.

⁴ Here and elsewhere I use the word bronze to cover the whole coinage of *aes*, whether of bronze, copper, or *orichalcum* (brass).

still some meaning for Tribonian and his colleagues who compiled the Code and the Digest in the sixth century.

The basis of the Roman law regarding counterfeiting¹ was a section in Sulla's *lex Cornelia de falsis* (c. 81 B.C.) dealing with the coinage.² Its text is lost, and we have to reconstruct its tenor from Ulpian's summary, cited in the Digest, of some of its clauses. It envisaged only the silver coinage, and the punishments it laid down were subsequently construed as banishment (free men) or death (slaves) for anyone guilty of counterfeiting silver coins or conniving at the offence. The buying or selling of 'coins' of lead or tin, i.e. pieces which might be mistaken for silver, was also forbidden.³ Gold coins were not dealt with, for at that time the Republic had none.⁴ No mention at all was made of bronze, presumably because the decision had already been taken to discontinue coinage in this metal.⁵ The approach of the law to counterfeiting was purely 'ethical': it envisaged the offence as a form of fraud, and liable to be punished as such. There is no trace in it of the 'political' approach, which regards counterfeiting as an offence against the state.

¹ The earlier *edictum cum poena et iudicio* of Marius Gratidianus of c. 84 B.C. no doubt did not survive the return of Sulla and the praetor's execution, and since it did not affect the later law it need not be considered here. On the whole affair, see T. Mommsen, *Histoire de la monnaie romaine* (French transl. by the Duc de Blacas), ii (1870), pp. 82-84; F. Lenormant, *La monnaie dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1878), i, pp. 250-1.

² Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. II. i. 42, calls it the (*lex*) *Cornelia testamentaria nummaria*. The law in fact was mainly concerned with the forging of wills. Cicero cites it as an example of the kind of legislation which does not create new law, since forgery had always been wrongful, but declares that henceforward it will entail criminal proceedings.

³ *Dig.* 48. 10. 9: 'Lege Cornelia cavetur, ut, qui in aurum vitii quid addiderit, qui argenteos nummos adulterinos flaverit, falsi crimine teneri. (1) Eadem poena adficitur etiam is qui, cum prohibere tale quid posset, non prohibuit. (2) Eadem lege exprimitur, ne quis nummos stagneos plumbeos emere vendere dolo malo vellet.' The punishments envisaged in the *Lex Cornelia* are given in the *Institutes*, 4. 18. 7, but how far these are original is not clear. For Paul's account of the *Lex Cornelia*, which considerably expands its scope, see below, p. 243, n. 2.

⁴ Apart from emergency issues, the mint of Rome produced no gold coins under the Republic. From Sulla's time onwards there were fairly large issues produced by military commanders, in virtue of their *imperium*, outside Rome. The general prohibition in the law of the alloying of gold has sometimes been interpreted as applying specifically to gold *coin*, which is not the case. Legislation controlling the quality of the gold used by goldsmiths is quite normal.

⁵ The issue of bronze was virtually suspended between the time of Sulla and that of Augustus.

These features were to influence profoundly the later development of the law of counterfeiting. The *lex Cornelia de falsis* was one of those great constructive pieces of legislation dating from the late republic and the early principate on which all subsequent criminal law was built up, and neither it nor its counterparts—the Fabian law on kidnapping, the Cornelian law on murder, the Julian laws on treason, adultery, violence, and theft—were subsequently extended by comprehensive pieces of legislation. Future development came partly through the replies of the emperor or his ministers to requests for decisions in particular cases and partly through the opinions of the great jurists as embodied in such manuals of the law and hand-books for provincial governors as Gaius' *Libri ad edictum provinciale*, Paul's *Sententiae*, and Ulpian's *Libri de officio proconsulis*. The law was never a precise collection of rules and sanctions, with penalties incurred automatically by those found guilty of offences. It was a system of directions for the guidance of those charged with administering the law, who were allowed considerable latitude in their decisions and were free to elaborate the punishments when there were aggravating circumstances and mitigate them when there were extenuating ones.¹

Our fullest statement of the law as it was under the principate comes from Paul's *Sententiae*, which date from the third century but reflect the practice of the Antonines.² The terms of the *Lex Cornelia* were extended, as was natural, to cover the gold coinage, and the ways in which gold or silver coins might be maltreated, by falsifying, washing, melting, clipping, breaking, or injuring, were elaborated in great detail. The refusal to accept gold or silver coins bearing the imperial portrait, provided they were genuine, became an offence.³ Makers of religious amulets or tesseræ which might be mistaken for

¹ See Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, pp. 1037–44.

² Paul, *Sententiae*, 5. 25. 1; 'Lege Cornelia . . . qui nummos aureos argenteos adulteraverit, lavaverit, conflaverit, raserit, corruerit, vitiaverit, vultuque principum signatam monetam, praeter adulterinam, reprobaverit: honestiores quidem in insulam deportantur, humiliores autem aut in metallum dantur aut in crucem tolluntur; servi autem postve manumissi capite puniuntur.' Although it refers to the *Lex Cornelia*, it is clearly much expanded, e.g. by the inclusion of gold and the reference to coins bearing the imperial portrait. *Capite puniri* does not necessarily imply the death penalty, but obviously does so here.

³ Paul's statement on this point is confirmed by a passage in Arrian's *Commentarii de Epicteti Disputationibus*, iii. 3. 3, which observes that no banker or greengrocer may legally refuse to accept 'Caesarian money', but must take it and give goods in exchange.

coins were exempted from punishment, provided it could be shown that they had acted innocently and made amends.¹ The punishments for those found guilty of counterfeiting were exile for persons of any consequence (*honestiores*), the mines or crucifixion for the poorer classes (*humiliores*), and crucifixion for slaves. These penalties, which are essentially those of the *Lex Cornelia*, seem to have applied only to silver, for Ulpian prescribes severer measures against those caught tampering with gold coins, free men being condemned to the beasts in the amphitheatre and slaves to crucifixion.² In the opinion of some jurists, a charge of *falsa moneta* was one of the few for which a slave might be tortured to give evidence against his master.³

None of these savage penalties applied to the bronze, and we are confronted by the surprising fact that under the principate no legislation against the counterfeiting of bronze is known to have existed.⁴

¹ This is how I would interpret Paul, *Sent.* 5. 25. 1a (= *Dig.* 48. 10. 19): 'Qui falsam monetam percusserint, si id totum formare noluerunt, suffragio iustae paenitentiae absolvuntur.' The difficulty of drawing a satisfactory legal distinction between counterfeit money and the many varieties of quite innocent private medals, tokens, passes and so on is well known. Prof. A. H. M. Jones prefers to interpret the passage as applying to persons who had started the business of counterfeiting and then confessed to the crime, either because their heart failed them or because they felt themselves in danger of being denounced. This is possible, for there are other instances of the law providing for 'repentance' in this fashion.

² *Dig.* 48. 10. 9: 'Ulpianus libro septimo de officio proconsulis. 'Quicumque nummos aureos partim raserint, partim tinxerint vel finxerint: si quidem liberi sunt, ad bestias dari, si servi, summo supplicio adfici debent.' The meaning of *tinxerint* and *finxerint* has been discussed. *Fingere* literally means to touch, and probably means removing the gold by rubbing, which was less open to detection than using a file. In early modern times it was done by shaking the coins together in a bag, and removing by mercury the gold dust that adhered to the canvas. *Tingere* means to wash, and here applies to the use of aqua regia. A large number of gold coins of the early seventh century discovered at Alexandria in 1903 were found to have been systematically treated in this way (E. D. J. Dutilh, 'Une trouvaille de 191 monnaies d'or byzantines et d'une pièce d'argent', *RBN* 1905, pp. 155-64). In the reign of Louis XIV private persons were prohibited from possessing aqua regia lest they should use it for this purpose.

³ So Hermogenianus in *Dig.* 5. 1. 53 ('falsae monetae criminis rei'), but against it Paul, *Sent.* 1. 12. 3 ('in caput domini patronive nec servus nec libertus interrogari potest').

⁴ The law of Tacitus (275-6) on the adulteration of metals, if it ever really existed, was directed against goldsmiths and metal-workers in general, not against counterfeiters (*SHA Tac.* 9: 'in eadem oratione cavit, ut, si quis argento publice privatimque aes miscuisset, si quis auro argentum, si quis aeri plumbum, capital esse cum bonorum proscriptione'). The rather similar provision in the *Lex Iulia* on peculation (*Dig.* 48. 13. 1) is shown by its context to refer to the public treasury, not to the coin ('*Lex Iulia* cavetur, ne quis ex pecunia sacra religiosa publicave auferat . . . neve quis in aurum argentum aes publicum quid indat neve immisceat neve quo quid indatur immisceatur faciat sciens dolo malo, quo id peius fiat').

Indeed, the words of the jurists in describing the law with regard to the counterfeiting of gold and silver virtually imply that none did exist, as also do the terms of Constantine's constitution of 318.¹ Various explanations for this can be suggested, such as that the private manufacture of bronze coinage would have offered technical problems difficult to solve if a profit was to be shown under normal circumstances, and that the bronze coinage was not a monopoly of the Roman state, being permitted to many cities in the East.² But it may be surmised that the major reason was that the issue of bronze by the state was not formally imperial at all, but senatorial. Though the distinction counted for little in practice, both the imperial and senatorial mints coming under the same direction and striking the same types, the use of different metals and the punctilious retention of SC (*senatusconsulto*) on the bronze coinage, indicating its issue 'by decree of the senate', outwardly maintained the theoretical separation. The gold and silver were *par excellence* 'imperial money', *Caesaris moneta*, καίσαρος νόμισμα;³ the bronze was not.

There can be little doubt that the elaboration of the penalties against the counterfeiting of the gold under the principate was due far more to the idea that it involved an offence against the 'image and superscription' of the emperor than that it was a crime against the state or an injury inflicted on the community. Images and portraits of the emperor, provided they had been 'consecrated', were sacrosanct, protected both by legislative enactments and by the opinions of the jurists, and their injury or defacement might incur the terrible penalties of the Lex Iulia against treason.⁴ Although gold

¹ See below, pp. 251-2.

² Professor A. H. M. Jones has also suggested to me that since taxes could not be paid in bronze, the government had less interest in maintaining its purity.

³ Cf. CIL vi (i), nos. 42-44 (=ILS nos. 1634-5), where Felix, who is head of both the imperial and senatorial mints, styles himself 'optio et exactor auri argenti aeris', while the staff and workmen employed in the imperial mint only are described as 'officinatores monetæ aurariæ argentariæ caesaris n(ostri)' and 'signat(ores) suppostores malliatores monetæ caesaris n(ostri)'. The καίσαρος νόμισμα is from Arrian (above, p. 243, n. 3).

⁴ Digest 48. 4. 4-6. That the consecrating of an image had a serious meaning to a pagan is evident from the jibes of the Christian apologist Minucius Felix (*Octavius*, 32). The most recent study of the divinity of the emperor and its implications is W. Ensslin, 'Gottkaiser und Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden' (*Sitzungsber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Abt.*, Jahrgang 1943, Heft 6).

coins were not formally 'consecrated', they came from imperial workshops and therefore were felt to some extent to be sacred. If Suetonius can be believed, this sentiment went so far under Tiberius that it was adjudged treason '*nummo vel anulo effigiem (Augusti) impressam latrinae vel lupanari intulisse*'.¹ Here the offence is properly one of sacrilege, the exposure of a sacred object to unseemly conditions. Suetonius represents such an extension of the concept of sacrilege as an arbitrary act of tyranny, and so no doubt it was, but in a less exaggerated form the sentiment that lay behind it was the prime motive of the developments in the law of counterfeiting under the principate. Such a sentiment ought to have raised the silver to the same status as the gold, but did not do so, partly perhaps because of the limitations imposed by the express wording of the *Lex Cornelia*. It would offer no protection at all to the bronze, which came from the senatorial and not the imperial mint. The fact that bronze coins bore the imperial portrait placed them in no better a position than unconsecrated statues, which could be melted down or otherwise disposed of without any fear of legal proceedings being incurred. Bronze coins were not 'Caesarian money', and so were left to look after themselves.

Apart from the general problem of counterfeiting as it affected the public as a whole, there was the special problem of the moneyers. In the main, they were liable in the same way as other folk. But if they abstracted the dies or other instruments from the mint and used them for coining elsewhere, it was held that in so doing they were guilty only of theft (*peculatio*), not counterfeiting, since the coins, even if not properly authorized, were struck in due legal form.² It was a curiously mechanical way of interpreting an offence which in medieval and modern law is usually punished as if it were ordinary counterfeiting. The fact that the lawyers regarded it as necessary to take special note of it should perhaps cause numismatists to revise the generally accepted view of the official character of the plated *denarii* of the late republic and early empire. If the misuse of regular dies, as envisaged in the dictum of Ulpian, really took place on an

¹ Suetonius, *Tib.* 58.

² *Dig.* 48. 13. 8: 'Qui, cum in moneta publica operarentur, extrinsecus sibi signant pecuniam forma publica vel signatam furantur, hi non videntur adulterinam monetam exercuisse, sed furtum publicae monetae fecisse, quod ad peculatus crimen accedit' (Ulpian).

extensive scale, it disposes of the only serious argument in favour of the official origin of these coins.

The legislation of the Christian empire, from the reign of Constantine the Great to the early years of the fifth century, is preserved in the Theodosian Code, published jointly by Theodosius II and Valentinian III on 15 February 438. The provisions regarding offences against the currency are collected in Book IX under Titles 21-23, *De falsa moneta*, *Si quis solidi circulum exteriorem inciderit vel adulteratum in vendendo subiecerit*, and *Si quis pecunias conflaverit vel mercandi causa transtulerit aut vetitas contrectaverit*. The third of these is concerned with traffic in coin, not with offences coming properly under the head of counterfeiting, but since one of its constitutions has incorporated in it a paragraph taken from a constitution in Title 21 it will be convenient to discuss it with the others. Title 22 is really superfluous, since the material it contains could have been easily incorporated in Title 21, but it was evidently the compiler's intention that Title 21 should deal with counterfeit coin, Title 22 with the maltreatment of genuine coin, and Title 23 with traffic in coin. The fact that isolated provisions in each Title escape his classification is not his fault, but that of the documents he used, and he has partly corrected it by transferring some provisions from one Title to another.¹ A constitution regarding counterfeiting in *CTh.* II. 21. 1 has also escaped proper classification.

Our chief difficulties in interpreting the legislation arise from the fact that while the compilers were instructed to preserve the precise wording of the original enactments, the words themselves were not used in any very exact way. If 'solidus', 'aes', and 'pecunia maiorina' clearly refer to coins of definite metals or combinations of metals, 'nummi', 'numismata', 'pecunia', and 'moneta' might have either a general or a specific meaning. It is certain that there was much vagueness in the matter, for 'moneta', as used in summaries of constitutions of Theodosius I, was clearly not intended to include the coinage of bronze, and a comparison of *CTh.* 9. 21. 2 with 9. 21. 4 shows what

¹ In consequence of this the dating of the documents is often at fault, and sometimes the text as well. See the Appendix for further details. The discussion that follows does not deal with *CTh.* 9. 21. 7, 8 and 9. 23. 2, which are not concerned with counterfeiting.

is described as 'moneta' in the former appearing as 'nummi' in the latter. In determining the exact meaning of these terms in each particular context we have to be guided by what we know for certain of the laws regarding the solidi and the aes.

Broadly speaking, the legislation of the fourth century involved no change with regard to the gold or silver. Offences against the first were treated as sacrilege and assimilated to treason, offences against the second were punished under the provisions of the *Lex Cornelia de falsis*. What changes occurred were with regard to the token coinage, whose status was complicated by several new factors. The bronze issued by the state had ceased to be senatorial even in form and was now openly imperial, while all local rights of coinage had been abolished. It was no longer purely bronze, but, at least at first and in theory, silvered bronze, deriving from the debased silver coinage of the third century and not from the sestertius and its fractions. On both grounds, offences against it ought logically to have carried with them the same penalties as offences against the gold or silver. In fact they did not do so. It may well have been felt that while to make the counterfeiting of bronze a form of treason might do something towards eliminating the offence, it might do even more towards cheapening the crime of treason.¹

The gold coinage is specifically dealt with in constitutions of Constantine the Great and Constantius II. That of 26 July 317 (*CTh.* 9. 22. 1) is directed against speculators trying to take advantage of the unfamiliarity of the solidus, which had only been introduced in 312, by quoting different exchange rates for the various types in circulation and offering a higher price for those on which the emperor's portrait was shown much larger than usual.² The penalty for this offence, which quite apart from any consideration of 'sacrilege'

¹ This consideration was admirably put fifteen centuries later by Blackstone (*Comment.*, bk. iv, ch. 6, 2), who objected to counterfeiting being assimilated to treason on the ground that 'affixing the same ideas of guilt upon the man who coins a leaden groat and him who assassinates his sovereign, takes off from that horror that ought to attend the very mention of the crime of high treason, and makes it more familiar to the subject'.

² The idea that Constantine was legislating against an agio, involving in this particular case the quotation of new and worn solidi at different rates, is in complete discord with the wording of the document. This is fully borne out by the coins themselves, which despite their uniformity of weight show considerable variations in the size of the emperor's head and even in module.

might well be regarded as endangering the whole monetary reform carried out by Constantine, was death, with the additional atrocity of burning alive if the judge thought that circumstances warranted it. The recipient is given in the Code as the Praetorian Prefect Leontius, but I have argued in the appendix that this is incorrect. In any event, it must have been a Western official, for the East was in the hands of Licinius and the solidus was not introduced there till after the latter's downfall (324). The document shows that Constantine, so far from mitigating the penalty for counterfeiting, as has sometimes been supposed, sharpened rather than weakened it where he judged it necessary.

The only novelty introduced by the constitution of Constantius II of 18 February 343 addressed to the Praetorian Prefect Leontius (*CTh.* 9. 21. 5) is that of offering a reward to informers who shall lead to the conviction of counterfeiters of solidi. In repeating the penalty of burning alive for such criminals, as well as for those clipping genuine solidi or trying to put forged ones into circulation, the rescript added nothing to the law as it stood.

Despite the savagery of this legislation, there is reason to believe that as late as the mid-fourth century the death penalty was not normally inflicted, and that counterfeiting was not thought of as a capital crime. The evidence for this comes from the amnesties which it was becoming customary for the emperors to issue every Easter, and from whose operation those guilty of capital crimes were expressly excluded. Two amnesties of 367 and 368¹ give a list of such offences: treason, sorcery, murder, adultery, and rape—these are the *quinque crimina quae capite vindicantur* referred to in a constitution of Constantius II (*CTh.* 9. 38. 2)—with that of 367 throwing in tomb-robbery and soothsaying for good measure. Neither makes any mention of counterfeiting, and since this is regularly added to the list from 381 onwards its omission justifies us in supposing that in the

¹ *CTh.* 9. 38. 3, 4. The date of 9. 38. 3 is defective. It is stated to have been 'given' at Rome on 5 May 367, and is addressed to the Prefect of the City, Viventius. Mommsen emends Rome to Rheims, where Valentinian was at this date, and alters the year to 369, on the ground that Viventius did not become Prefect till that year. This last point is not certain—it depends on the very dubious dating of *CTh.* 1. 6. 5—and the first emendation is unnecessary. Since Easter fell on 1 April in 367, an amnesty for the occasion cannot have been issued on 5 May. This date must be that of the reception of the constitution in Rome.

reign of Valentinian I (364-75), despite his reputation for savagery, the death penalty would be inflicted on counterfeiters only in exceptional circumstances.¹

Things were very different under Theodosius the Great (379-95). The first amnesty he issued, that of 380, still reserved from its operation only those guilty of the *quinque immanitas criminum*,² which did not include counterfeiting. But later in 380 he met Gratian in the Balkans, and it seems likely that they agreed on the terms of the very elaborate amnesty issued before Easter in 381. Only the Western version, issued by Gratian in Gaul and not proclaimed in Rome till 21 July, has been preserved (*CTh.* 9. 38. 6). This adds to the usual list of capital offences that of 'the person practised in sacrilege who reproduces the sacred countenance and lays impious hands upon the divine features by engraving them on sacred objects'.³ That this piece of verbiage meant nothing more than making false coins is shown by the references to *monetae adulteratio figuratio* in the similar document for 384 (*CTh.* 9. 38. 7), *adulterator monetae* in that of 385 (*CTh.* 9. 38. 8), and *falsae monetae rei* in that of 386. The first two of these amnesties emanate from Valentinian II; the third, which is preserved entire, is of Theodosius himself.⁴ The steady determination shown by

¹ Two earlier amnesties, one published by Constantine in 322 to celebrate the birth of Crispus (*CTh.* 9. 38. 1) and the other by Constantius II after the suppression of the revolt of Magnentius in 353 (*CTh.* 9. 38. 2), also make no mention of counterfeiting amongst the 'reserved' crimes, but they survive in too summary a form to supply us with any certain argument.

² *Const. Sirmond.* 7 (in Mommsen-Krueger, *CTh.* ii. 912-13). The document is only a fragment, and undated, but since it is addressed to the Praetorian Prefect Eutropius it must be 380 or 381. The omission of monetary offences points to 380.

³ 'qui sacri oris imitator et divinorum vultuum adpetitor venerabiles formas sacrilegio eruditus impressit'. Cf. the reference to 'the sacred countenance' in Paul's *Sententiae* (above, p. 243, n. 2), and the reference, in the patent appointing a Count of the Sacred Largesses, 'ut figura vultus nostri metallis usualibus inprimatur, monetamque facis de nostris temporibus futura saecula commonere' (Cassiodorus, *Variae*, vi. 7). The anonymous fourth-century author of the *De rebus bellicis* (3. 1) takes the view that counterfeiting is particularly an offence because *regiae maiestatis imaginem . . . imminuit* (E. A. Thompson, *A Roman Reformer and Inventor*, Oxford, 1952, p. 95).

⁴ *Const. Sirmond.* 8 (p. 913). It is dated 22 April, which is over a fortnight after Easter (5 April). The reading *x kal. Maii* should probably be emended to read *x kal. Mart.*, which would place its issue at the beginning of Lent. The wording implies an issue at Easter itself, but the document was clearly meant to be read on its reception at about that date. In view of such delays, the constitution of 985 (9. 38. 8) had authorized officials to anticipate in future the arrival of an amnesty at the Easter season even if the actual document was not yet in their hands.

them to ensure the infliction of the death penalty culminated in a constitution addressed by Theodosius to the Count of the Sacred Largesses and 'posted' at Constantinople on 27 June 389 which formally declared counterfeiting to be treason.¹

In these amnesties of 384-6 and the constitution of 389 the word 'moneta' is used in describing the offence, in contrast to the 'solidi' or 'nummi aurei' of which there had almost always been mention in the past where capital punishment was involved. It looks at first as if the law had been changed, and Theodosius had carried to its logical conclusion the theory that all counterfeiting, in whatever metal, was to be regarded as sacrilege and treason and carry with it the supreme penalty. This was not the case, for a constitution of the same emperor of 393 shows that the penalty for counterfeiting the bronze coinage was still short of that of death.² Clearly the word 'moneta' in this context refers only to the gold,³ and no change at all had taken place. All that this legislation indicates is Theodosius' determination to ensure that the law was carried out.

The position of the silver presumably remained what it had been under the principate, for it would not have been affected by any of the legislation preserved in the Theodosian Code. Prosecutions for the counterfeiting of coins of this metal would have taken place under the terms of the Lex Cornelia, with banishment and confiscation of property as the normal penalties.

The terms of the legislation relating to the bronze varied according to whether the offence consisted of counterfeiting, in the sense of making false coin, or of misusing already existing coin, and according to whether the offender was a private person or an employee of the mint.

The clearest statement of the law of counterfeiting is found in two constitutions of Constantine the Great. The first, of November 318, is addressed to Verinus, Vicar of Africa (*CTh.* 9. 21. 1), but probably

¹ *CTh.* 9. 21. 9: 'Falsae monetae rei, quos vulgo paracharactas vocant, maiestatis crimine tenentur obnoxii.' The 'posting' or publication was effected by affixing a copy to a white board (*in albo*) outside the residence of the recipient.

² See below, p. 253.

³ The constitutions are known to us only from the summaries produced by the compilers of the Code, and the words in the originals may have been different. For other examples of generalizing in the fifth century from 'solidi' to 'moneta' see the *interpretationes* referred to below, p. 255, n. 2.

does not refer to a specifically African problem, for the terms in which it is couched suggest a measure of general application whose very issue reinforces the view that the counterfeiting of bronze was not an offence already covered by either the legislation of the principate or the law books of the jurists.¹ Constantine laid down that the punishment of making *adulterina numismata* should depend on the sex and status of the accused. The sentence for a decurion or the son of a decurion should be perpetual banishment, with confiscation of property at the discretion of the emperor; for a *plebeius* it should be forced labour in perpetuity and confiscation, and for a slave death.² A further constitution of 6 July 326, addressed to Tertullus, Proconsul of Africa, tightened up the provisions of the earlier one in respect of confiscation of property, which should henceforward be automatic and not referred to the emperor's decision. The constitution is of particular interest as giving a reason for the law. This is not stated to be sacrilege, as was always the case where the counterfeiting of gold coin was involved, but the desirability of keeping the imperial mints fully employed.³

Seventy years later the case apparently arose of metal workers who had a licence to manufacture *imagines* of the emperor being indicted for counterfeiting and defending themselves on the ground that they had permission to make likenesses of the emperor. This at least appears to be the most probable construction one can place on *CTh.* 9. 21. 10, addressed by Theodosius the Great to the Praetorian Prefect Rufinus and received or published at Constantinople on 12 July 393: 'If any person shall arrogate to himself the authorization to

¹ On the other hand, the mint of Carthage had been closed a few years earlier, after the suppression of the revolt of Alexander (311), and it is possible that the government of Africa had to deal with counterfeiting on a large scale.

² 'Quicumque adulterina fecerit numismata, poenam pro discretionem sexus et condicionis suae diversitate sustineat, hoc est ut, si decurio vel decurionis sit filius, exterminatus genitali solo ad quamcumque in longinquo positam civitatem sub perpetuo exilii condicione mittatur ac super facultatibus eius ad nostram scientiam referatur; si plebeius, ut rebus amissis perpetuae damnationi dedatur; si servilis condicionis, ultimo supplicio subiugetur.'

³ 'Si quis nummum falsa fusione formaverit, universas eius facultates fisco addici praecipimus, atque ipsum severitate legitima coherceri, ut in monetis tantum nostris cudendae pecuniae studium frequentetur.' Prof. A. H. M. Jones regards the last phrase, however, as implying nothing more than the necessity of limiting the striking of coin to the mints. The phrase *nummum falsa fusione* is curious; one would expect the emphasis to be laid on the falseness of the coin, not the badness of the metal composing it.

strike bronze (coin) in virtue of either a rescript or an *adnotatio*¹ or ours, not only shall he lose the advantage of his petition [i.e. licence] but he shall receive the punishment which he deserves.² This latter is not specified, but the wording implies that it is something short of the death penalty, and no doubt the punishments laid down by Constantine are those which it envisaged. The prohibition against possessing old coins which originally made part of this constitution³ may have been partly directed towards stopping a possible source of metal for counterfeiting, but more probably had in view their employment by counterfeiters for impressing the moulds used for casting forgeries.

The constitutions of Constantine show that banishment and confiscation were the normal punishments for those guilty of counterfeiting bronze coin. Mishandling it was treated more severely, at least from the reign of Constantius II onwards. A constitution addressed to Limenius, Praetorian Prefect in the West, and 'posted' at Rome on 12 February 349,⁴ laid down that metal workers who 'purged' bronze coins of their silver [coating] should incur the capital sentence,⁵ and those on whose estates or in whose houses the operation was carried out should be punished by confiscation of property. A further constitution of Constantius II of February 356, directed against traffic and speculation in coin, extended the crime of sacrilege, which involved the capital sentence, to all melting of bronze

¹ The exact meaning of *adnotatio* is not known, but it was possibly a note of consent added in the margin of a petition presented to the emperor (B. Kübler, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts*, Leipzig-Erlangen, 1925, p. 378, n. 5).

² For the text see below, p. 259. Prof. Jones regards the licence in question as being one actually to make coins, and as having been acquired by bribery from a chancery whose officials were notoriously corrupt. This is certainly the most natural interpretation of the wording of the constitution, but I doubt whether such a proceeding would really have been possible.

³ Below, p. 259.

⁴ *CTh.* 9. 21. 6. It must have been issued in November 348, probably from somewhere in Asia Minor.

⁵ 'Comperimus nonnullos flaturarios maiorinam pecuniam non minus criminosae quam crebre separato argento ab aere purgare. Si quis igitur post haec fuerit in hac machinatione deprehensus, capitaliter se fecisse cognoscat.' The fact that the rescript is addressed to the Praetorian Prefect, not the Count of the Sacred Largesses, suggests that the *flaturarii* envisaged are not the moneyers themselves. The operation was presumably carried out by acid, so that the coins would remain to be turned back into circulation. The phrase *post haec* seems to imply that up to the date of the edict the practice, owing to some technical fault in the law, had not been a punishable offence.

coin,¹ and the same penalty appears in a constitution of Valens of 7 April 371.²

Mint officials and employees who dabbled in counterfeiting were also more severely punished than private persons.³ There are two constitutions of Constantine which deal with them, the first using the phrase *adulterinam monetam exercere*, the second *figuratum nummum cudere*. Since the second one is only an appendix to the first, modifying some of its provisions, the two phrases must refer to the same thing. This can only be the counterfeiting of bronze, since the gold coinage was covered by much severer legislation already.

The first constitution is addressed to Januarius, the Vicar of the City, and was 'posted' at Rome on 20 November 321. It was apparently provoked by the report that imperial moneyers were engaged in counterfeiting on a considerable scale. Its provisions can be summarized as follows:

1. Special efforts were to be made to trace moneyers indulging in counterfeiting. Informers were to be rewarded, and if they were slaves were to be given their freedom. Those convicted should be tortured to make them reveal their accomplices. If they escaped while in custody, those responsible were to be capitally punished. Cases in which imperial officials were charged with counterfeiting were to be reported to the emperor.
2. The owner of the house or estate in which the crime had been committed should be sentenced to banishment and confiscation of property if it could be proved that he had condoned it. If he had been ignorant of it, he should only lose the actual property in or on which the counterfeiting had been carried out, unless he had reported the offence as soon as he had discovered it.⁴

¹ CTh. 9. 23. 1: 'Quicumque vel conflare pecunias vel ad diversa vendendi causa transferre detegitur, sacrilegii sententiae subeat et capite plectatur.' The remainder of this lengthy rescript is concerned with transport of coin and the measures to be taken against it, not with counterfeiting.

² CTh. 11. 21. 1: 'Conflatores figurati aeris, adulteratores etiam monetae capitalis animadversio persequatur.'

³ The author of the *De rebus bellicis* (3. 1-3) regarded mints and mint employees as the main source of bad money, and proposed the heroic remedy of situating all mints on small islands and denying the staff all contact with the outside world (E. A. Thompson, op. cit., p. 95).

⁴ CTh. 9. 21. 2. The summary of what was evidently a lengthy and rather complicated document is far from clear. The penalties are embedded in the clause dealing with accomplices:

The provisions regarding confiscation were evidently found to bear hardly on several classes of property owners, and were modified by a further constitution of 4 May 329 (*CTh.* 9. 21. 4) addressed to Helpidius, Vicar of the Praetorian Prefect. It relieved from this penalty absentee landlords, widows, and minors, who might either reasonably be ignorant of what was going on or be unable to prevent it.

This examination of the law of counterfeiting under the principate and dominate shows that it had nothing like the comprehensive severity that might be hastily deduced from the Theodosian constitution of 389 and that was in fact ascribed to it by posterity. The offence was not conceived of as falling automatically within Ulpian's definition of the scope of treason: 'Maiestatis autem crimen illud est, quod adversus populum Romanum vel adversus securitatem eius committitur.' Counterfeiting the gold was a personal act of sacrilege directed against the sovereign; counterfeiting the silver was punished as a form of fraud; and legislation against counterfeiters of the bronze was justified on the ground that their activities were likely to lead to loss of profit on the mints. The Code of Justinian, which took over all that was regarded as of permanent value in that of Theodosius, discarded much of the legislation of the fourth century but retained the distinction between gold and bronze and the differing penalties attached to offences against each.¹ It was in the West, where all coinage save that of gold came virtually to an end in the course of the fifth century, that laws which had referred originally only to *solidi* were 'interpreted' as applying to *moneta* in general.² The result was that when the coinage of western Europe passed from gold to silver in the seventh and eighth centuries, the aura of sacrilege which in imperial

'Actor fundi vel servus vel incola vel colonus, qui hoc ministerium prae-buit, cum eo qui fecit supplicio capitali plectetur.' The provision that private persons shall have no right of appeal ('appellandi etiam privato licentia denegetur') should from its position in the document apply to the principals, but can scarcely do so, for the moneyers would not be *privati*; it must refer to accomplices.

¹ *CJ* 9. 24. 2, a rather awkward conflation of *CTh.* 9. 21. 3 and 9. 21. 5. *CJ* 9. 24. 1 (about moneyers) is a conflation of *CTh.* 9. 21. 2 and 9. 21. 4, and *CJ* 9. 24. 3 reproduces *CTh.* 9. 21. 10. The remaining provisions in the Theodosian Code were dropped.

² See the late fifth-century *interpretationes* to *CTh.* 9. 21. 5 and 9. 22 included in Mommsen's edition.

days had surrounded the gold was transferred for the first time to coins of the less noble metal, and the strange and barbarous history of the medieval law of counterfeiting began.¹

APPENDIX

The Dating of CTh. 9. 21-23

THE Theodosian Code is not a code in the modern sense of the word, but a collection of such legislation of Constantine and his successors as its compilers were able to discover. This was summarized and roughly classified according to subject-matter for convenience of reference. The commissioners were expressly instructed to include, for purposes of record, legislation that had ceased to be valid. Their material consisted mainly of *epistulae* that had reached their recipients and been filed away for reference. They retained the initial protocol (superscription) and the final protocol (date and place of issue) of each document, but summarized the text, leaving out the bulk of the superfluous verbiage in which the enactment and sanctions were embedded but preserving as far as possible the precise wording of these. Sometimes they kept the endorsements, giving the date at which documents reached their destinations or were 'posted' (*proposita*, i.e. published) by their recipients.

The dating of these documents is in great confusion. The compilers were lawyers, not historians or antiquarians, and though the order in which rescripts dealing with the same subject were issued was of importance, since the later constitution overrode the earlier one, their absolute chronology was of no consequence. Many of the dates assigned to the documents are plainly impossible. Often the names of the consuls, by whose term of office each document is dated, do not accord with the names of the emperors or those of the recipients, and we sometimes know that on the particular day on which a document purports to have been issued the emperor was not at the place from which it is dated.

Some of these errors are scribal inaccuracies or textual corruptions which can easily be corrected. Others are due to the omission of part of the final protocol of a document or to confusion between it and the endorsement, so that a document which professes to have been 'given' at

¹ I would like to express my thanks to my friend and colleague M. J. Prichard for his advice on many points of Roman law. My indebtedness to Prof. A. H. M. Jones, who was kind enough to read my typescript, will have been apparent from the above pages. It is only fair to both of them to say that they can in no way be held responsible for my conclusions.

Carthage on a particular date was in fact 'received' or 'posted' there, or vice versa. Some are explicable on the assumption that the whole of the final protocol has been transferred from one document to another, so that the entire date is incorrect. These misdatings were studied by Mommsen in the monumental preface to his edition of the Theodosian Code and again by Otto Seeck in his *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart, 1919), but the task of straightening out the chronology cannot yet be regarded as complete.

Both Mommsen and Seeck are open to the criticism that they accepted too easily the idea that whole date-formulae had been transferred from one document to another, and did not consider sufficiently the possibility that some documents might be conflations of constitutions of different emperors, and that the confusion might be due to some element in the superscription or the date-formula of one document having strayed into that of the other.¹ The hypothesis of the complete transfer of a date leaves unexplained the question of where the wrong date came from. In some cases at least it can be shown that it belongs to part of the document, and that with a little care the component parts of a composite document can be separated from each other.

The documents concerned with counterfeiting are to be found in Book IX, Titles 21-23. Six of them (9. 21. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 9. 23. 2) are correctly dated, and their text calls for no discussion. The others are in varying degrees defective.

9. 21. 1. Constantine the Great to Verinus [Vicar of Africa]

The date is defective. It reads 'Dat. et pp. xv kal. April. Constantino A. V. et Licinio Caes. cons.'. This would be 18 March 319, but the phrase *Data et proposita*, 'given and posted', is impossible. The issue of the decree and its publication cannot have taken place the same day, since Constantine spent most of 318 and 319 at Sirmium and Verinus would have received it in Africa. The date clearly applies to the 'posting', and the date and perhaps the place of issue have dropped out. Since 9. 15. 1, also addressed to Verinus, was 'given' at Sirmium on 16 November 318 and received at Carthage on 14 March 319, 9. 21. 1. must have been issued at Sirmium on about the same date.

¹ The instructions to the compilers ordered the breaking up of constitutions into their component parts, which were to be inserted in their appropriate places according to subject-matter, in the Code. It did not authorize the conflation of documents, but the internal evidence of these seems to me to justify the assumption that the compilers did in fact indulge in the practice.

Mommsen suggested that this document should be dated 323-5, when Verinus was Prefect of Rome and we have another group of rescripts issued to him. Such an emendation is unnecessary, since there are several rescripts addressed to Verinus in Africa in the winter of 318-19.

9. 21. 2. Constantine the Great to Januarinus [Vicar of the Prefect (of the City)]

The date is defective. It reads 'Dat. xii kal. Dec. Rom(ae) Crispo II et Constantino II CC. cons.'. This is 20 November 321. Other rescripts show that Constantine spent the year 321 in the Balkans, and could not have issued this document at Rome. A phrase about 'posting' has clearly dropped out, and the rescript was in fact issued in late October. 'Posting' at Rome accords with the character of the document, which its contents show to have been sent to an official in whose sphere of jurisdiction there was an important mint, and 9. 34. 3, also addressed to Januarinus, is recorded as having been 'posted' in Rome.

Seeck (pp. 62-63) proposed to emend the date to 318, assuming that the compiler's source gave the first and not the second consulate of Crispus. Such an emendation is altogether too drastic, for it also implies that the copyist changed *Licinius V* into *Constantinus II* to make it agree with Crispus' second consulate. Seeck's redating is based on the belief that a certain Helpidius held the same office on 27 May 321 (*CJ* 8. 10. 6: *agens vicem p(raefectorum) p(raetorio)*) and 3 July 321 (*CTh.* 2. 8. 1: office not named), and that therefore Januarinus, who is known to have been in office in 319 and as late as 4 December 320 (*CTh.* 9. 34. 3: *agens vicariam praefecturam*), cannot still have been so in November 321. But the two offices are different; Januarinus was Vicar of the Prefect (of the City), Helpidius was Vicar of the Praetorian Prefect. That the offices were distinct is proved by an inscription of C. Caelius Saturninus, who held at various times both of them; see Mommsen in *Memorie dell' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, ii (Leipzig, 1865), pp. 308-11, 315-17. They were later united (E. Stein, *Geschichte des spätromischen Reiches*, i (Vienna, 1928), p. 183, n. 1).

9. 21. 5. Constantius II to Leontius, Praetorian Prefect [in the East]

Given at Antioch on 18 February 343. There are no difficulties over the date, but the text is not complete, a passage having been transferred to 9. 22. 1 (q.v.). The revised text should read as follows:

Imp. Constantius A. Leontio p(raefecto) p(raetorio).

Praemio accusatoribus proposito quicumque solidorum adulter

potuerit repperiri vel a quoquam fuerit publicatus, ilico omni dilatione submota flammaram exustionibus mancipetur.

Quod ille etiam patietur, qui mensuram circuli exterioris adroserit, ut ponderis minuat quantitatem, vel figuratum solidum adultera imitatione in vendendo subiecerit.

Dat. xii kal. Mart. Antiochiae Placido et Romulo cons.

9. 21. 9. Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius to Tatianus [Praetorian Prefect in the East]

The date is defective. It reads 'Dat. v kal. Iul. Constantinop(oli) Timasio et Promoto cons.', i.e. 27 June 389. On this date Theodosius was at Rome, not at Constantinople. The formula can be emended by substituting *Romae* for *Constantinopoli*, or by assuming the disappearance of a phrase regarding 'posting', or by accepting the day and place of issue but assuming that the names of the consuls are incorrect. The last alternative, though the least likely of the three, is that adopted by Mommsen and by Seeck (p. 91), who consequently assign the rescript to 392, the only year when Theodosius was at Constantinople on 27 June during Tatianus' period of office. The disappearance of *proposita* is a much more likely hypothesis, and I assume a date of issue of about the end of March or early April 389.

9. 21. 10. Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius to Rufinus, Praetorian Prefect (in the East)

The date (12 July 393) is satisfactory, but part of the text has been transferred to 9. 23. 1 (q.v.). The rescript should be emended to read as follows:

Idem AAA. Rufino p(raefecto) p(raetori)o.

Si quis super cudendo aere vel rescribto aliquo vel etiam adnotatione nostra sibi eripuerit facultatem, non solum fructum propriae petitionis amittat, verum etiam poenam quam meretur excipiat.

Si quis forsitan nummus praeter eum, qui in usu publico perseverat, apud aliquem mercatorem fuerit inventus, fisci dominio cum omnibus delinquentibus facultatibus vindicetur.

Dat. iiii id. Iul. Constantinop(oli) Theod(osio) III et Abund(antio) cons.

9. 22. 1. Constantine the Great to [NN]

This rescript has always been a major source of difficulty to commentators, since the name of the addressee does not accord with the date. The initial protocol reads 'Imp. Constantinus A. Leontio p(raefecto) p(raetori)o', the final protocol 'Dat. vii kal. Aug. Gallicano et Basso cons.'.

The date according to the consulship is 26 July 317, and Constantine, who was probably then at Sirmium, could well have issued a rescript on this day. But no Praetorian Prefect Leontius is known for his reign, and it seems clear that the man in question is the Leontius who was Praetorian Prefect in the East under Constantius II from c. 340 to c. 346.¹ Mommsen proposed to emend the date to c. 343, but to leave the day as 26 July. Seeck (p. 94) adopted the more drastic solution of discarding the whole of the final protocol, day and names of consuls alike, and treating the document as a detached portion of 9. 21. 5. He therefore dated it 18 February 343.

Though Seeck was partly correct, such a wholesale revision of the text is inadmissible. What has taken place is clear. The original rescript of Constantine dealt simply with the value of solidi of different physical dimensions, since speculators were quoting them at varying rates. It was addressed to NN, whose name we do not know, and was dated 26 July 317. The compiler of the Code has carried over from 9. 21. 9, which was a constitution addressed by Constantius II to Leontius, a clause dealing with the clipping of solidi. He did not use it there, since by his classification Title 21 was intended to deal with counterfeit coin, but kept it to insert in Title 22, dealing with maltreatment of the coin. He interpolated it into 9. 22. 1, to whose contents it is only remotely related, and altered the name of the recipient of Constantine's rescript to 'Leontius, Praetorian Prefect', since it was to this individual that part at least of his final version had originally been addressed.

This relatively simple emendation clarifies the whole problem. 9. 22. 1 is correctly dated, but we do not know the name of the recipient, and the original text ended with the words *alia poena mortifera*. The final sentence, *Quod ille etiam patietur, &c.*, belongs not to the rescript of Constantine but to that of Constantius II to Leontius which is classified as 9. 21. 5.

9. 23. 1. Constantius II and the Caesar Julian to (NN, (?) Praetorian Prefect of the Gauls)

The same problem arises here as in the last case. The initial protocol reads 'Imp. Constantius A. et Iulianus Caes. ad Rufinum p(raefectum) p(raetori)o' and the final protocol 'Acc. viii id. Mar. Constantina Constantio A. VIII et Iuliano Caes. cons.'. A constitution of Constantius II and Julian of this date (8 March 356) is perfectly possible, Constantius II being then at Milan. The difficulty is that the Praetorian Prefect in the West from

¹ Prof. Jones points out to me that our knowledge of the Praetorian Prefects under Constantine is very imperfect, and that we have no proof that there was not a Leontius holding office in 317. The explanation I give in the text, however, seems to me more likely.

355 to 361 was Taurus, not Rufinus, and that emending *Constantina* (Arles)¹ to *Constantinopoli* will not save the situation, since the Praetorian Prefect in the East was Musonianus.

Mommsen's proposal was to assume that the name of the recipient was correct, and since there was a Rufinus who was Praetorian Prefect in the West from 349 to 352 to emend everything to give the date 352, despite the changes in the names of the consuls that this would involve. Seeck (pp. 45-46), having altered the date of I. I. 6, which mentions Rufinus, from 354 to 346, proposed to emend this likewise to give the date 346.

These proceedings are quite unjustified. An alteration in the name of the recipient and an interpolation in the text are much more likely. The rescript is concerned with the transport of coin from one place to another for purposes of speculation. Its general drift is clear, though not all the details, since the copyist who summarized it has done his work badly. One sentence, however, has nothing to do with its main purpose, but forbids the possession of obsolete coin. It uses the word 'nummus' for such coins, while everywhere else in the rescript—six times—the word employed is 'pecunia', and the sentence can be cut out without in any way disturbing the continuity of the remaining text. It can therefore be regarded as an interpolation, derived from a constitution addressed to Rufinus. When we look back at the previous section, we find in fact that 9. 21. 10 is addressed to Rufinus, Praetorian Prefect of the East, and that the section forbidding the possession of obsolete coins fits naturally into that document. It was evidently held over by the compiler since it did not deal with *falsa moneta*, and was inserted later in the best spot which he could find in the Title concerned with traffic in coin.

The superscription of Title 23. 1 should therefore be emended to read 'Imp. Constantius A. et Iulianus Caes. ad NN', the recipient being probably the Praetorian Prefect of the Gauls. The text should be emended by the omission of the phrase 'Placet denique, ut, si quis forsitan nummus . . . facultatibus vindicetur', which should be transferred to 9. 21. 10. The date is correct.

¹ Seeck interprets *Constantina* as Constantine, in North Africa, which is impossible, for the context shows that *Constantina* was a port and Constantine is fifty miles from the sea. Arles, though on the Rhône delta and not on the sea, was one of the chief ports of Roman Gaul.

THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE OF ROMANO-BRITISH COIN HOARDS

By ANNE S. ROBERTSON

THE subject of this paper is an inevitable choice for inclusion in a volume of essays presented to Mr. Harold Mattingly, for he, almost more than anyone else, has emphasized the importance of a survey of hoards of Roman coins found in Britain to scholars concerned with problems of Romano-British history, archaeology, and numismatics. It was indeed at his instigation that I myself began to collect records of such hoards, and now, after long years spent in hunting them down and analysing them, it is with the greatest gratitude to Mr. Mattingly for speeding me on such a fascinating quest that I offer him some of the illuminating and at times surprising information wrested from them.

About 1,200 hoards of Roman coins—and over 100 other finds of Roman coins which may have been hoards—have been recorded from Britain. There must, too, have been countless other such finds of which no record survives. The records vary greatly in quality. A hoard may have been fully examined and described (particularly if found within recent years since the extremely generous provisions of the law of Treasure Trove came into operation) and a complete list of emperors represented in it may be known. On the other hand, a hoard may have been so incompletely recorded that the name of only one emperor represented in it has survived, or perhaps only the general period of the hoard is known, or none of the coins in the hoard has been dated. The long list of close on 200 undated hoards—out of a total of about 1,200—is a startling reminder of the amount of evidence that has been lost through faulty recording.

The latest coins in a hoard provide a *terminus post quem* for the date at which money ceased to be added to the hoard. A closer dating can often be arrived at by considering the condition of the latest coin or

coins, and the general composition of the hoard. If the latest coins were unworn, and if the list of coins contained in the hoard formed an uninterrupted chronological series ending abruptly with the latest coins, then the hoard was probably closed only a few years after the date of the latest coins in it. On the other hand, if the latest coins in a hoard were very much worn, through being in circulation for some time before being added to the hoard, obviously the hoard could not have been closed until some years after the date of issue of the latest coins. This is rendered all the more probable if there were gaps in the chronological series of coins in the hoard.

The date at which a hoard was closed, however, and at which money ceased to be added to it, may or may not have been the date at which the owner laid away his treasure. The composition of a hoard once again provides a clue whether or not the two dates coincided. If the coins in a hoard formed an unbroken chronological series, stopping short suddenly with the latest coins, then the date at which saving or hoarding ceased was probably followed at once by the date of the deposit of the hoard. For an owner who had saved steadily and consistently was hardly likely to stop abruptly, unless the hoard was no longer within his reach. If, on the other hand, there were gaps in the chronological list of coins in a hoard, that is, if the saving process appears to have been intermittent, then the date at which the saving process ceased may not have been followed at once by the concealment of the hoard.

Those hoards which have been completely examined are, in fact, for the most part made up of coins forming an uninterrupted chronological series. This suggests that, as a general rule, hoards were concealed soon after the saving process ceased. But of course absolute certainty on this point is impossible to attain. We can only determine, as accurately as the records allow, the date at which a hoard was closed, and, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, assume that the date of concealment followed soon after. Thus, a hoard ending with coins of Hadrian is 'dated' to Hadrian's reign, and is assumed to have been concealed in that reign.

It is at once obvious that the number of hoards lost in the various reigns was far from constant. The distribution of hoards over reigns (seen most clearly in the diagram on p. 283) shows indisputably

that, while the practice of saving or hoarding continued uninterrupted throughout the whole span of the Roman occupation of Britain, there were certain periods at which more hoards were concealed and lost than at others, for example, in the reigns of Marcus Aurelius, the Tetrici, Carausius, Constantine I, and Honorius.

The most likely explanation for the loss of an unusually large number of Roman coin hoards in Britain at a particular period is that there was, at that time, some far-reaching disturbance of the even tenor of Romano-British life, such as warfare or the threat of warfare. For in Britain, as elsewhere, owners of hoards would be inclined, during a period of disturbance, to conceal their treasures, and if life were endangered many hidden hoards would be lost to their owners through death, particularly in districts which suffered most severely from the effects of the unrest.

When the chronological and topographical distribution of Romano-British coin hoards is considered in conjunction with the literary and archaeological evidence for contemporary disturbances, it becomes clear that, allowing for some losses due to mere accident, the evidence of the hoards tallies generally with the evidence from other sources. The loss of large numbers of hoards may then be accepted as a concomitant of disturbed conditions, and even as an index of them, particularly if there were large concentrations of losses in certain areas, and, in the absence of other information, may even be admitted as evidence for disturbances which would otherwise be lacking. That is the historical importance of Romano-British coin hoards.

The archaeological importance of hoards derives not so much from the actual coins which they contain as from the other objects associated with them, and from the circumstances of their concealment. The owners of hoards, for example, usually stored their coins in vases or urns of coarse pottery, which were in many cases extremely fine products of the Romano-British potter's craft, or else in vessels of silver, bronze, or pewter, which were themselves of considerable value, or else in wooden boxes or in money-bags. The chronological lists of hoards show that hoards contained in coarse-ware pots, in wooden boxes, or in money-bags cover the whole span of the Roman occupation of Britain. These were the three types of container which must have been in constant use in Britain for the reception of a man's

savings. Other containers, for example of Samian ware, of silver, bronze, or pewter, were available only at certain periods, when they were being manufactured for other purposes. With their coins, Romano-Britons often kept and concealed other valuables, most commonly personal ornaments and household plate of gold, silver, bronze, or pewter, or else other possessions which, although not of great intrinsic value, may have been treasured for personal reasons. These associated objects give a vivid impression of what constituted 'valuables' in Romano-British eyes. Moreover, as in the case of accompanying receptacles, a useful *terminus ante quem* for the date of manufacture of associated objects is provided by the date of the hoards with which they were found.

Again, the place and manner of deposit of Romano-British hoards often reflects the care taken by their owners for their safe-keeping. Comparatively few hoards were deposited in inhabited sites, military or civil, and, if they were, their position almost always shows that the owner took great care over their *concealment*—under the floor, in a hypocaust or pit, or in a disused ditch. The place of deposit was much more commonly a spot removed (although not necessarily far removed) from Roman habitation, but marked by some feature, natural or artificial—like a pre-Roman burial mound or an overhanging rock—which would direct the owner of a hoard back to his treasure. Still further evidence of the care taken over the concealment of hoards is the fact that many of them were buried deep in the earth, and were deliberately surrounded with protective material, like bricks, tiles, or stones.

The metals of which Romano-British coin hoards were composed

It would be reasonable to expect that coin hoards should be composed of the precious metals, gold and silver, when these were available in coined form. For a man's savings would occupy much less space if he changed his copper coins into silver coins of an equivalent value, or his copper and silver coins into the most intrinsically valuable metal of all—gold. A further inducement to save gold and silver must have been the consideration that gold and silver always retain their intrinsic value, while copper is more liable to depreciation.

The hoarding of gold coins in Britain was in fact almost entirely

restricted to the two periods, mid-first to late second century A.D., and late fourth century A.D. or later. These were the periods when Roman gold coins were readily available in Britain for hoarding purposes. During these two periods, gold coins were either hoarded alone or together with silver coins. In all the gold *plus* silver hoards of the first period—mid-first to late second century A.D.—which have been fully examined, it is noticeable that the latest gold coins were of an earlier date than the latest silver coins. Gold coins had a much longer circulation-life than silver. But in late fourth-century (or subsequent) gold *plus* silver hoards the latest gold coins were not always of an earlier date than the latest silver coins. Those hoards in which the dates of the latest gold and the latest silver coins corresponded were probably lost later than the others. After the reign of Honorius the flow of Roman coins into Britain shrank rapidly. Yet Roman coins no doubt continued to be hoarded, as long as there were some available for hoarding. So, as the years passed, the time-lag in the circulation-life of gold coins behind that of silver coins would disappear. All the gold *plus* silver hoards which have been fully examined, whatever their date, contained fewer gold than silver coins. It may be that the owners of these mixed gold and silver hoards aimed at changing their silver into gold in time, but were halted by circumstances beyond their control before attaining their goal and their gold.

Silver coins were naturally much more easily and more widely obtainable for hoarding than gold coins. The chronological lists show that silver coins, when available, were hoarded in preference to copper coins throughout the whole period of the Roman occupation of Britain, except in the reign of Claudius and again in the late fourth century A.D. or later. In the early days of the occupation Roman bronze coins apparently entered the country in much larger quantities than Roman silver. Again, in the last days of the occupation, copper coins appear to have been current in Britain in far larger quantities than silver and gold coins. Hoards dating to the late fourth century or later and consisting of gold or silver coins are very greatly outnumbered by copper hoards of the same date.

To judge from the hoards whose coins have been listed in detail, it was usual, when silver and copper were hoarded together, for the

silver to exceed the copper. It is of course impossible to say whether the owner of a mixed silver and copper hoard deliberately kept a few coins of the baser metal in his hoard for use as small change or whether he intended ultimately to exchange the copper coins for silver coins of equivalent value.

During the third century A.D. the preference which the Romano-Briton had for hoarding silver manifested itself in a most distinctive way. In A.D. 215, a new, supposedly silver coin, the antoninianus, came into circulation alongside the denarius. It is thought to have been tariffed at twice the value of the denarius, though it was only about one and a half times its weight, and, even when first issued, contained 50 per cent. alloy. As a result, silver denarii were preferred to billon antoniniani for hoarding purposes. In Britain the antoninianus was not included at all in coin hoards until the reign of Severus Alexander, almost twenty years after it was first introduced. As late as the reign of Philip II, thirty years after the introduction of the antoninianus, denarii were still being hoarded alone.

Where denarii and antoniniani were hoarded together, the denarii consistently outnumbered the antoniniani until the reign of Gallienus. In that reign the antoninianus was further debased, the percentage of alloy in it now amounting to 75-80 per cent., and soon afterwards it was struck in copper and washed over with silver. Thereafter bad money rapidly drove out good. Denarii were very rarely minted and those already in circulation grew scarcer and scarcer as they were called in and melted down for their silver content. From Gallienus onwards, antoniniani outnumbered denarii in hoards and finally displaced them altogether. A few stray denarii, however, did survive in hoards as late as the reign of Allectus, to emphasize the persistence with which the Romano-Briton clung to good old silver when he could get it.

The size of Romano-British coin hoards

Hoard of gold coins alone, as one would expect, were usually of a small size. Those dated in the mid-first to the late second centuries A.D. ranged in size from 3 (or more?) coins at Alton (Domitian, or later)¹ to 160 coins at Corbridge (Site XXIX), the latest of which

¹ Stebbing Shaw, *Hist. of Staffs.* (1798), Adds. p. 2, from Dr. Wilkes's MSS.

was of Marcus.¹ Those dated in the late fourth century A.D. or later ranged in size from 3 coins at the Tower, London (Honorius),² to 48 coins at Corbridge (Site XII), ending with Maximus,³ with an outsize hoard of 600 solidi at Eye (Constantine III).⁴

Hoard of silver coins alone were usually larger in size than hoards of gold coins. They ranged from 5 coins at Housesteads (1933)⁵ and Kenfig,⁶ both ending with Severus Alexander, and 4 coins at Traprain⁷ (Honorius) to over 3,000 at Colchester (c. 1898),⁸ also ending with Severus Alexander, and about 3,000 at Cleeve Prior (Honorius) along with 450–600 gold coins.⁹ The majority of Romano-British silver hoards were, however, much smaller, seldom containing more than a few hundred coins.

Hoard of copper coins ranged much more widely in size. The smallest were a hoard of five *aes* from St. Albans (East Tower), ending with Severus Alexander,¹⁰ and a hoard of five *aes* from Housesteads (1931), ending with Elagabalus,¹¹ while the largest were a hoard of about 30,000 antoniniani, mainly *aes*, at Selborne (1873), ending with Constantius I,¹² and a hoard of over 17,500 Constantian third brass, with 3 antoniniani, from Ross-on-Wye (Constantius II, Augustus).¹³

Of the total number of about 1,200 coin hoards recorded from Britain, only about 100 contained more than 1,000 coins each. Of these hundred or so hoards, all but a very few were composed either of debased antoniniani, or of antoniniani and fourth-century copper.

The general composition of Romano-British coin hoards

Unless there is very strong evidence to the contrary, it is probable that the coins composing a hoard were withdrawn from circulation within a very short space of time before the date at which the saving

¹ *Archaeologia Aeliana*³ viii (1912), pp. 154, 210.

² *Archaeologia* v (1779), pp. 291 ff.

³ NC 1912, pp. 275 ff.

⁴ *MS. Min. Soc. Ant.*, xviii (1781–3), p. 2; NC *Proc.* 1891, p. 10.

⁵ *Archaeologia Aeliana*⁴ xi (1934), p. 191.

⁶ *Bulletin of Board of Celtic Studies*, iii (1926), p. 76.

⁷ A. Curle, *The Treasure of Traprain* (1923), pp. 3 ff.

⁸ NC 1898, pp. 126 ff.

⁹ NC 1936, pp. 314 ff.

¹⁰ *Research Report of the Society of Antiquaries*, xi (1936), p. 62.

¹¹ *Archaeologia Aeliana*⁴ ix (1932), p. 235.

¹² NC 1877, pp. 90 ff.

¹³ NC 1896, pp. 209 ff.

process ceased. For unless the owner of a hoard was a miser, he must have been constantly taking money out of his savings, and again putting money in, or even spending his whole hoard and then starting to save afresh. If then a hoard was fluid, and all or part of it had recently been withdrawn from circulation and was likely to be put into circulation again at any time the owner wished, the coins in the hoard must have been not obsolete but current, or at least acceptable as currency. They must, in fact, reflect or represent the contents of a man's pocket or purse at a given time, frozen (as it were) into immobility for our leisurely inspection. The contents of one man's pocket or purse, or of his hoard, would of course differ in composition from the contents of another's, although both were contemporary. Each would reflect not only the owner's financial position, but also his preference for certain metals or for certain types of coins. But even so, the coins in a man's hoard would all be coins acceptable as currency, for they were surely meant to be spent sooner or later and not hoarded up for ever. A group of hoards ending with coins of a certain emperor may then be expected to throw light on the currency in circulation in Roman Britain during his reign, unless there is evidence to prove that the hoards were all exceptional in composition. Moreover, if the obverse and reverse types of coins in such a group of hoards have been recorded, still more information can be obtained about the types of coins which reached Britain, and about the approximate date of types whose date might otherwise be unknown.

C. H. V. Sutherland has of course already carried out a study of the coins circulating in Britain in the reign of each emperor.¹ This still remains the authoritative work on the subject, although the additional material now available may suggest certain very slight modifications or amplifications of the views he expressed. Here, however, there is only space to exemplify the light thrown by hoards on the currency of one reign—that of Commodus.

There are fourteen hoards dating to this reign of which the coins have been listed in detail.² For the gold currency of the period there is, unfortunately, the evidence of only one hoard, the South Shields hoard of gold and silver coins. The aurei in this hoard ranged from

¹ *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain* (1936).

² See Table, pp. 284-5.

Nero to Antoninus Pius, although it was not concealed until the time of Commodus. The silver currency included legionary denarii of Mark Antony with (as in the Shotts hoard) an occasional Republican denarius, and then ran from Nero onwards, with Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius predominating, and Marcus gradually overtaking them. It is noticeable that there was still much Flavian, particularly Vespasianic, silver available for hoarding. Indeed, so persistently and abundantly does Flavian silver occur in hoards throughout the whole of the second century, even the latter half of it, that the survival of this silver in general circulation, and often in very good condition, throughout that century must be accepted as a fact. Otherwise, it would have to be supposed that practically all the second-century silver hoards in Britain represented the savings of generations, or even of a century.

The recognition of the peculiar longevity of Flavian silver is of particular importance for archaeologists who may have to use such silver as evidence for the date at which a Roman site was occupied. The presence of Flavian silver, for example, on a Roman site in Scotland, even if it is in good condition, does not of itself prove that the site was occupied in the Flavian rather than in the Antonine period.¹

Peculiarities of composition

Although an analysis of well listed Romano-British hoards does show that a group of hoards of the same period had, as a rule, the same general composition, yet there were included in some cases a number of rare, exceptional, or unexpected coins. Among the more striking peculiarities of composition are the persistent survival of certain types of coin, the apparently deliberate selection of coins for hoarding, and the inclusion of sub-standard and barbarous coins.

(1) The survival of certain types of coin

Over a dozen Romano-British hoards contained Greek coins, mostly present in ones and twos. Almost all were Greek imperial issues, usually silver drachmae of Lycia *in genere*, or of Caesarea Cappadociae, ranging in date from Domitian to Trajan, with

¹ Cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* lxxxiv (1950), pp. 138 f.

Trajan's issues commonest. The hoards in which these silver drachmae occurred, like the Edwinstowe hoard (Commodus),¹ were all hoards of denarii, ranging in date from Faustina I to Severus Alexander. In other words, Greek imperial drachmae appeared sporadically in Romano-British hoards until Roman denarii began to give place to antoniniani. It may be that such drachmae were accepted as denarii. The two hoards made up solely of Alexandrian bronze, on the other hand, from Fetter Lane,¹ and from Jerbourg,² could not have been regarded as currency.

Over a dozen hoards contained Ancient British coins of varying metals and types. Five of these hoards, from Weston,³ Santon Downham,⁴ Nunney,⁵ Southants,⁶ and Hengistbury,⁷ were in fact largely made up of Ancient British coins. It is most probable, of course, that all the hoards which contained Ancient British coins belonged to native Britons, and not to Romans. The list of such hoards gives some idea of the circulation life of different types of Ancient British coins and of their powers of survival even after Roman coins were entering Britain in quantity. One small area of southern Britain clung to its local native currency much longer than the rest of the country. Three hoards from Hampshire⁸ contained a very large number of base silver and copper coins of the so-called Hod Hill and Hengistbury types, along with some other mixed Gaulish and British issues. These remained in circulation, or at least in existence, as late as the reign of Antoninus Pius, but seem to have disappeared thereafter. At least two other Ancient British coins, however, survived to make a surprising appearance in Roman hoards of third-century date, from Ashover (Gordian III)⁹ and Tring (Tetrici).¹⁰

Over forty Romano-British hoards included one or more denarii which were stated to be of the Roman Republic or of Julius Caesar. It is, of course, possible that some of the so-called Republican coins

¹ NC 1911, pp. 357 f.

² NC 1937, pp. 135 ff.

³ NC 1853, pp. 98 ff.

⁴ NC 1869, pp. 319 ff.

⁵ NC 1861, pp. 1 ff.

⁶ NC 1911, pp. 42 ff.

⁷ *Research Report of the Society of Antiquaries*, iii (1915), pp. 24, 65.

⁸ Timsbury (NC 1908, pp. 80 f.), Hengistbury (loc. cit.), and Southants. (loc. cit.).

⁹ BNJ² vi (1922), pp. 369 ff.

¹⁰ NC 1870, pp. 125 ff.

in inadequately recorded hoards may really have been legionary denarii of Mark Antony, but, even when these have been set aside, a large enough number of hoards containing Republican denarii remains to give some information about their circulation-life.

Republican denarii were present in hoards in large numbers until the reign of Hadrian, after which they suddenly decreased to a very few examples. It would appear that, until the reign of Hadrian, the Republican denarius, of good silver and substantial weight, kept its place in the currency of Roman Britain, in spite of Nero's reduction in the weight of the denarius, and the consequent calling in of the heavier pre-Neronian denarii. There were at least seven Hadrianic hoards which contained Republican denarii. The proportion of Republican to imperial denarii in these hoards varied from 1:2 to 1:20. The high proportion of these denarii in Hadrianic hoards is in sharp contrast to the mere trickle found in hoards later than Hadrian. After his reign, apparently, Republican denarii vanished almost completely from circulation, except for a few sporadic survivors which remained in existence as late as the reign of Philip I, for example in the Long Ashton (1817)¹ and York (1840)² hoards.

At least nine of the hoards containing Republican denarii came from Yorkshire alone, while three came from Scotland, six from Wales, eight from northern England, and seventeen from the Midlands and southern England: four of these last also included Ancient British coins. In general, the Republican denarius seems to have been a particular favourite in northern Britain and in the less Romanized parts of the province, Wales and Scotland, whose inhabitants were so uncivilized as to prefer old-fashioned silver of a high quality to more recent, but debased issues.

Close on fifty hoards contained one or more of the base legionary denarii of Mark Antony. With the exception of the Lavenham hoard (Trajan, or later),³ all the hoards down to Hadrian which contained denarii of Mark Antony also contained Republican denarii. Significantly enough, however, the good silver Republican denarii outnumbered the base legionary denarii of Mark Antony in all but one of the hoards in which both were present. The exception was the

¹ Seyer, *Memoirs of Bristol* (1821), i, p. 163.

² *Yorks. Museum Handbook* (1891), p. 100.

³ NC 1875, pp. 140 ff.

twin Hadrianic hoard from Wroxeter (Site VI),¹ one half of which contained a Republican denarius, and the other a denarius of Mark Antony.

Hadrian's reign, it has been observed, saw the virtual disappearance of the Republican denarii from circulation, except for a few survivors. Legionary denarii of Mark Antony, however, continued in circulation by virtue of their very baseness. It was not worth while calling them in to melt them down. They were particularly numerous in hoards of the reign of Severus and of Severus Alexander, and even persisted until the reign of Postumus. By that time, antoniniani at last fell to a level of debasement which outrivalled that of even Mark Antony's denarii, which thereafter completely disappeared from circulation.²

(II) *The selection of coins for hoarding*

A man would form his hoard out of the coins which circulated in his area while he was saving. Out of the total range of coins available, however, he might select those which for some reason or other appeared to him most desirable.

Just as the precious metals, gold and silver, were preferred for hoarding, when readily available, so the individual coins of which a hoard was made up often appear to have been specially selected, either for their fine condition, for their good quality, or for some other reason. Many a hoard, when examined in detail, has proved to include fine, unworn coins of all the emperors represented, from the earliest to the latest. A good example of this is the Falkirk hoard, which included denarii from Nerva to Severus Alexander in fine condition.³ In this case, however, the fine condition of the early coins in the hoard, combined with their large numbers, suggested to Sir George MacDonald that the process of saving had covered a long period of time. Even in hoards whose composition encourages no such suggestion,

¹ *Research Report of the Society of Antiquaries*, iv (1916), pp. 70 f.

² The so-called hoard of Coventina's Well on Hadrian's Wall (NC 1879, pp. 85 ff.) which ended with coins of Gratian, did, it is true, contain legionary denarii of Mark Antony, but that does not mean that his denarii were still circulating as currency in Gratian's reign. The hoard of Coventina was saved up for her by her devotees over a long period of years, and the denarii of Mark Antony must have been consigned to her Well at some time before they disappeared from circulation about A.D. 270.

³ NC 1934, pp. 1 ff.

however, early coins were often present in good condition. It seems likely that the thrifty owner of a hoard selected for inclusion in his savings whatever well-preserved coins came his way, and no doubt tried to get rid of his more worn specimens.

The selection of the highest-quality silver for hoarding has already been seen to have secured the persistent survival in hoards of Republican denarii. Another example of selection is the retention of imperial denarii in hoards long after the introduction of the baser antoniniani. Good silver, of whatever denomination and type, always preserved its own intrinsic value.

A more subtle, but still recognizable, form of selection was that of choosing coins with certain reverse types for inclusion in a hoard. At least four Romano-British hoards are said to have been composed of coins all of which had different reverse types. One, a Hadrianic hoard from Thorngraston,¹ consisted of three aurei and sixty denarii, contained in a bronze purse. 'The collection exactly filled the vessel and the reverses of the coins were all different.' The owner of the bronze purse must have selected for hoarding purposes from all the coins that came his way only those with reverse types not already represented in his savings.

The selection of particular reverse types or of a variety of reverse types in these four hoards is easy to detect. It is probable, however, that some kind of selection, less obvious but none the less effective, was exercised in many other hoards, if not in most hoards. If this were not so, Romano-British hoards would not have produced so many variants on the types described in the standard coin catalogues, or so many rare or even unique coins. The owners of hoards containing these variants or rarities may well have included them just because they were different or rare. Such selective owners of hoards would, in fact, not only be saving money, they would also be collecting coins. It is perhaps to their collector's instinct, as well as to their thrift, that we owe such unique coins as the silver Brigantian coin with part of the name of Cartimandua on it, in the Honley hoard (Vespasian),² or the base-silver coin of Flavia Maxima Helena in the 1902 Icklingham hoard (Honorius).³

¹ Bruce, *Roman Wall* (1853), pp. 416 ff.

² NC 1897, pp. 293 ff.

³ NC 1929, pp. 319 ff.

Another form of selection was that of restricting the coins in a hoard to issues of one emperor only. Between twenty and thirty Romano-British hoards are said to have had their contents so limited. Admittedly a few of these finds are of rather doubtful genuineness, but still, when all the doubtful examples are excluded, there remains sufficient evidence to prove that Romano-British hoards have been found composed solely of coins of one or other of the following emperors: Claudius, the Tetrici, Carausius, Allectus, Constantine I, Constans, Valentinian I (gold), and Valens. The reason behind the owner's limitation of his hoard to the coins of one emperor can sometimes be detected. In the reign of Claudius, for example, Claudian *aes* was almost the only *aes* currency available in any quantity. Again, coins of Carausius and Allectus were minted in Britain, and hoards composed solely of coins of either of these emperors may have come in bulk direct from the mint, rather than have been collected together deliberately from different sources. It is significant that one such hoard of Carausius' coins was found in London, where Carausius had one of his mints. Most of the emperors, however, whose coins from time to time formed the sole contents of Romano-British hoards did not issue coins in Britain, so that their monopoly of these hoards is not so readily explained. The reason for it may have been either that the owner of a hoard had somehow acquired a supply of new coins in bulk, or else that he had a personal preference for the coins of a certain emperor.

Even although the owners of hoards may have exercised a greater or less degree of selection when adding coins to their savings, yet their primary object was the hoarding of wealth rather than the collecting of coins, at least in the great majority of cases. For the coins which they saved were coins current in Britain. There remain, however, a few Romano-British hoards which, if authenticated, may have belonged to ancient collectors pure and simple, who did not seem to care whether their coins were current or not. They have an exotic, incredible air, like the hoard found at Bath in 1807 which was said to consist of 'small silver coins, Roman, Numidian, and Carthaginian: none of a later date than the earlier Caesars'. As early as 1852, the authenticity of this hoard was questioned by one writer. 'It was given out that it must have been the collection of some Roman virtuoso;

but I have been told that the whole was a fraud of a dealer in coins, then living in Bath Street.'¹ It is unfortunate that none of these exotic hoards has survived for more recent and more critical inspection.

(III) *The inclusion in hoards of sub-standard and barbarous coins*

A directly opposite tendency to that of the careful selection of coins for hoarding is sometimes discernible in Romano-British hoards, namely, the apparently careless inclusion of faulty or sub-standard coins. A very few plated silver coins, cast coins, and metal blanks found their way into hoards, but only a very few.

One type of sub-standard coin falls into a special category—clipped siliquae. The clipping of siliquae was recognized by J. W. E. Pearce as one result of an appreciation in the value of silver after the severance of Britain from the Roman empire about A.D. 410.² Thereafter, official Roman silver coins must have ceased to enter Britain in any numbers, and siliquae already in Britain would be cut down to offset the growing scarcity of silver. When unclipped siliquae became rarer and rarer, the owner of a silver hoard had no choice but to include the clipped specimens. His inclusion of this particular group of sub-standard coins was involuntary.

Also in a special category of sub-standard coins are barbarous or irregular copies. These found a place in hoards dating to periods at which they formed so high a proportion of the coins in normal circulation that they could hardly be excluded completely from a man's savings.

One of these periods coincided with the early stages of the Roman conquest of Britain. Copies of bronze coins of Claudius were turned out in large numbers to make good a shortage of small change in the newly constituted Roman province, and they varied greatly in style, and in quality, weight, and fabric.³ Some of them, at least, may have been semi-official copies, but others were probably unofficial. In view of the large number of Claudian imitations known from site-finds, it is perhaps surprising that so few found their way into

¹ *Proc. Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* iii (1852), p. 109.

² *NC* 1933, pp. 170 ff.

³ C. H. V. Sutherland, 'Romano-British Imitations of Bronze Coins of Claudius I', *NNM* 65 (1935).

Romano-British hoards, unless of course far more have been present than have been recognized and recorded.

On the other hand, at least eighty hoards of third-century date or later contained 'barbarous radiates'—copies of antoniniani, which displayed more or less irregular or barbarous workmanship, and which varied in diameter from that of official antoniniani to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch or less. Copies with a diameter of $\frac{1}{2}$ inch or less are usually classed as minims, but there are many borderline cases, and a sharp distinction between small radiate copies and minims is difficult to maintain. The inclusion of barbarous radiates in almost fifty third-century hoards, ranging in date from Claudius II to A.D. 300, proves beyond doubt that irregular copies of radiate antoniniani were produced as early as about A.D. 270, and that the circulation of these copies, and even possibly their manufacture, continued uninterrupted until almost A.D. 300, that is, as long as the antoninianus was the only denomination in general use. The evidence of third-century hoards also shows that even radiate minims, of very small module, were being produced before about A.D. 300. The most decisive evidence in favour of a third-century date for the initial production of minims is provided by the St. Albans (Theatre) hoard composed of barbarous radiates and minims only. It is securely dated by external archaeological evidence to a period not later than about A.D. 300.¹

The reason for the manufacture of radiate copies and minims in the late third century A.D. is generally thought to have been a desire to supplement the official currency with a token coinage of smaller value. In the late third century, however, there were already in circulation large quantities of base Gallic antoniniani which were little, if at all, superior to the copies. It is curious, too, that Tetrican hoards of base-copper antoniniani have been found in large numbers in East Anglia, just that area in which are also concentrated large numbers of hoards containing barbarous copies. Possibly the debased Gallic antoniniani and the irregular copies circulated alike as small change, with radiate minims serving as still smaller change alongside them, though why the need for small change should apparently be felt so acutely in East Anglia is not clear.

The life of radiate copies, begun in the third century A.D., did not

¹ NC 1937, pp. 211 ff.

end in that century. About thirty hoards of fourth-century date or later included such copies, associated in most cases with barbarous fourth-century copies. It is a little surprising to discover, from the list of these hoards, that between the close of the third century and the end of the reign of Constantine I there was an interval when, apparently, barbarous radiates and minimis were not being hoarded. This interval seems, hitherto, to have escaped the notice of numismatists.¹ In fact, radiate copies did not become common again in hoards until the end of the fourth century. This of itself raises the question whether the barbarous radiates included in fourth-century hoards were really survivors at all from the third century, or were new productions, manufactured either late in the reign of Constantine I, or towards the end of the fourth century or even later, or at both these periods. Since official antoniniani (as hoards show) were still current in small numbers throughout the fourth century, and, it may be, later; and since hoards of them may have been discovered in the course of the fourth century, imitations of antoniniani could easily have been made at any time during that century or later. P. V. Hill has, in fact, noted at least two examples, not from hoards, of radiate copies overstruck on late Constantinian coins,² and the Richborough (1931) hoard included a very large number of barbarous radiates and minimis, with reverse designs copying fourth-century types.³

Apart from such examples, however, it is very difficult to distinguish which, if any, of the radiate copies included in fourth-century hoards were manufactured in the fourth century or later, rather than in the third century. Attempts to date the copies according to degree of barbarity, or according to size, are not convincing, for even the radiate copies hoarded in the third century varied greatly in style, and radiate minimis, not by any means all of good workmanship, were already in production before the end of the third century A.D. Perhaps the most striking warning that excessive irregularity or barbarity can never, by itself, provide a reliable index to the date of

¹ P. V. Hill, in *NC* 1950, p. 235, for example, assumes 'the continued manufacture during the Constantinian period of barbarous radiates', but the evidence of hoards is against this.

² 'Barbarous Radiates', *NNM* 112 (1949), p. 18.

³ H. Mattingly and W. P. D. Stebbing, 'The Richborough Hoard of "Radiates", 1931', *NNM* 80 (1938).



FIG. 9. Pot of coins found at Mildenhall, Suffolk, 1831. Moyses' Hall Museum, Bury St. Edmunds

manufacture comes from a hoard found at Mildenhall in 1831, and recently examined in detail (Fig. 9).¹ It contained seventeen irregular coins of Postumus, all from the same dies. The obverse design is so faultless that it is indistinguishable from that on official coins, but the reverse design is as barbarous as it can possibly be—mere 'scribble'. Yet they were contemporary.

Even a hoard composed of radiate minims only, as was apparently the Hayle hoard, to which P. V. Hill has rather arbitrarily assigned a date between A.D. 450 and 550,² may perhaps be allowed to enter a timid, despairing protest against being saddled, without proof, with so late a dating. The Hayle hoard was contained in a bronze bowl, or possibly the lower part of a bronze jug, and the records show that not a single hoard which can certainly be dated later than the third century was deposited in a bronze vessel or even had a bronze vessel associated with it. From the beginning of the fourth century, household vessels of bronze were replaced by those of pewter. The fact that the Hayle hoard was contained in a bronze vessel does not, of course, constitute absolute proof that the hoard was laid away in the third century A.D. The Hayle bronze vessel may have been the single heirloom which survived into the fourth century or later. It does, however, raise a tiny voice pleading for caution when attempts are made to date radiate copies or minims on the evidence of size or degree of barbarity alone.

Over fifty Romano-British hoards included diademed copies, some of them minims. These hoards show, what has of course already been recognized,³ that diademed copies imitated certain specific groups of fourth-century official coins—the bronze coinage of the reign of Constantine I, particularly with the VRBS ROMA, CONSTANTINOPOLIS and GLORIA EXERCITVS reverses; the bronze coinage of Constantius II and Constans as Augusti down to Decentius, with the FEL TEMP REPARATIO reverse legend, and either the 'Galley' or, more commonly, the 'Fallen Horseman' reverse type; a small group of bronze coins of Magnentius and Decentius with reverse types other than the 'Fallen Horseman'; a very limited number of bronze coins of Julian II, Valentinian I, and Gratian; and

¹ NC 1954, pp. 40 ff.

² 'Barbarous Radiates', cited, p. 26.

³ Notably by P. V. Hill, in NC 1950, pp. 233 ff.

'Theodosian' bronze. Copies of the last group are not very commonly found in hoards, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that such copies are not commonly recognized in hoards, for the official bronze coinage of the late fourth century was itself of such small size, and of such poor quality, that it would be difficult to produce a copy of lower standard.

The evidence of fourth-century hoards shows that diademed copies and minims made their first appearance almost as soon as their official prototypes came into circulation. The most striking proof that some 'Fallen Horseman' copies were issued contemporaneously, or nearly so, with their prototypes is derived from the Poundbury hoard, which was made up almost entirely of official 'Fallen Horseman' coins, in mint condition, and imitations of these very coins.¹ The 'Fallen Horseman' reverse was indeed the favourite prototype for diademed copies. These varied greatly in quality, style, and size. Even hoards closed not long after the official 'Fallen Horseman' coins were first issued contained imitations which were very irregular indeed, and of minim size. 'Fallen Horseman' copies and minims remained long in circulation, for they were present in hoards ending with Honorius' coins.

There also appeared, in about the last days of the Roman occupation, diademed 'minimissimi', measuring 4 millimetres or less in diameter. The meagre evidence of the three hoards in which they have been recognized—Bourton (Slaughter Farm),² Lydney (1929),³ and Richborough (SW. Angle)⁴—indicates that 'minimissimi' came into existence not earlier than the end of the fourth century A.D.

The end of Roman currency in Britain

The evidence of hoards is conclusive that both large-size copies and also minims, radiate and diademed alike, continued in circulation until the latest Romano-British hoards, ending with Honorius, were amassed. They were in use at least as long as Roman coins remained current in Britain, however long that was. They must of course have remained current in some districts much longer than in others.

¹ NC 1952, pp. 87 ff.

² NC 1934, pp. 284 ff.

³ *Research Report of the Society of Antiquaries*, ix (1932), pp. 116 ff.

⁴ NC 1939, pp. 112 ff.

After the steady flow of coins from the official mints ceased, the circulation of Roman coins in any particular district must have been purely a question of local conditions. It depended, for example, on how seriously life had been disrupted in that district; how accustomed the inhabitants were to the regular use of currency; how self-sufficient they were, or how dependent on trade with others; how many coins were already available in that district, and how many finds of earlier coins turned up to provide an opportune, emergency currency.

It is, on the face of it, likely that a community whose daily life depended to a large extent for its maintenance on some sort of currency should attempt to make good a growing shortage of Roman official coins by producing coins of its own, just as its ancestors in the third or fourth centuries had tried to make good a shortage of small change by producing copies of the official coinage. It is, however, extremely difficult to advance proof that this was actually done, and, if it was done, to distinguish between the radiate and diademed copies and minims, if any, which were produced after the Roman withdrawal, and those which were manufactured in the third or fourth centuries, but survived in circulation, like official coins themselves, until the latest Romano-British hoards were amassed. There is, unfortunately, no evidence yet, archaeological or otherwise, independent of the coins themselves which would prove beyond a doubt that some radiate or diademed copies or minims were produced after the Roman withdrawal.¹

There must of course have been many districts in Britain whose inhabitants ceased to use coins altogether as soon as the supply of official Roman currency began to dry up. Country districts, for example, were always, and are to this day, much more self-supporting, much less dependent on a means of exchange, than urban districts. Life in a Roman villa could go on without money, without trade or communication with the outside world, though much impoverished and straitened, during barbarian raids and other upheavals. It was in fact in Romano-British towns that money was essential for

¹ Attempts have of course been made to prolong the production life of certain copies and minims into the fifth or sixth century A.D. on the ground of stylistic affinities with Anglo-Saxon sceattas (NC 1948, pp. 142 ff.). It is, however, at least arguable that such stylistic affinities may have been the result of the well-attested imitation of Roman coins by Anglo-Saxon moneyers.

the maintenance of daily life, and it was in towns that there should have been a concentration of barbarous copies and minims, had these been produced after the Roman withdrawal, to supplement the dwindling official currency, always supposing of course that the towns and townsfolk had survived to use coins. There does not appear to be any such concentration in or near towns of hoards ending with Honorius and containing radiate or diademed copies or minims, or of hoards containing copies or minims alone. Such hoards are simply distributed widely over south-east England, in those parts of the country which were most thickly populated at the end of the Roman occupation.

On present evidence, then, it seems safest to conclude that although it is certain that barbarous copies and minims, both radiate and diademed, were still in circulation while the latest Romano-British hoards were being amassed, at whatever date that was, and although it is possible, perhaps even probable, that some at least of these copies and minims, and perhaps all minimissimi, were manufactured after the Roman withdrawal to supplement, or take the place of, the official coinage, absolute certainty about the length of their production-life is still beyond our reach. In any case, there was not one end to Roman currency in Britain; there were many ends. The end may have come in some districts even before the Roman withdrawal, and in other districts long after it. Indeed, at Northallerton, Yorkshire, an end to Roman currency did not come until 1788 when 'a large urn (of Roman coins) was dug up by one Lawrence Leadley. . . So numerous were the coins, which amounted to several hundreds, that they soon got into circulation as farthings, and went by the name of "Lawrie's farthings".'¹

¹ Ingledew, *Hist. of Northallerton* (1858), p. 123.

ROMANO-BRITISH COIN HOARDS



FIG. 10.

	Chesterford (1847), Essex	Maidstone, Kent	Rainham, Kent	Brixworth, Northamptonshire	Edwinstowe, Nottinghamshire	Castle Bromwich, Warwickshire	Newbiggin (1863), Westmorland	Caerleon (Barracks ?), Monmouthshire
	Æ	Æ	AR Æ	AR	AR	AR	AR	AR Æ
Republic . . .	..	..	.. ..	..	..	..	..	.. ..
Mark Antony . .	..	..	.. ..	..	..	6	..	5 ..
Claudius . . .	I	..	.. ..	..	..	..	..	.. ..
Nero . . .	..	..	I ..	..	I	..	2	2 ..
Galba . . .	..	..	.. ..	..	2	..	I	.. ..
Otho . . .	..	..	.. ..	..	I	..	I	I ..
Vitellius . . .	..	..	.. ..	..	..	..	2	2 ..
Vespasian . . .	3	..	2 ..	I	34	23	I	23 ..
Vespasian? . . .	..	I	.. ..	..	..	..	..	.. ..
Titus . . .	..	..	.. ..	I	9	3	4	6 ..
Domitian . . .	13	2	I ..	I	26	7	4	12 ..
Nerva . . .	2	..	.. ..	I	7	3	I	5 ..
Late 1st century	..	I	.. ..	..	..	..	..	.. ..
Trajan . . .	57	7	3 ..	5	97	34	27	51 I
Trajan? . . .	..	..	.. ..	..	..	..	..	.. ..
Hadrian . . .	63	13	2 ..	2	94	48	35	52 ..
Sabina . . .	I	I	.. ..	..	5	2	6	.. ..
Aelius Caesar . .	..	I	.. ..	..	2	..	..	.. ..
Antoninus Pius . .	32	7	2 I	4	36	30	29	53 ..
Faustina I. . .	12	6	.. ..	3	14	10	13	12 ..
Pius and Marcus	..	..	.. ..	..	..	..	3	.. ..
Marcus . . .	8	6	2 ..	5	22	21	13	37 I
Faustina II . . .	I	2	2 ..	..	9	10	5	20 ..
Lucius Verus . . .	..	5	.. ..	I	2	I	6	6 ..
Lucilla . . .	..	..	.. ..	..	6	..	3	4 ..
Commodus . . .	I	5	.. ..	..	2	I	..	4 ..
Crispina . . .	..	..	.. I	I	..	..	I	.. ..
Uncertain . . .	3	..	I ¹ ..	..	..	..	..	.. ..
Total no. of coins examined	197	57	18	25	369	199	157	297
Total no. of coins in hoard	197	57	18	25	369	199	157	297

Note: First in the table come those hoards all of whose coins have been examined, and afterwards those hoards which have not been completely examined.

¹ Of unspecified metal.

	South Shields, Durham		Lydney (1854), Gloucestershire	Beachamwell, Norfolk	Sheffield (1860), Yorkshire	Fossoway, Kinross-shire	Shotts, Lanarkshire
	<i>A</i>	<i>Æ</i>	<i>Æ</i>	<i>Æ</i>	<i>Æ</i>	<i>Æ</i>	<i>Æ</i>
Republic . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	I
Mark Antony . . .	..	..	I	I	2	..	..
Claudius . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nero . . .	I	..	I	..	..	2	..
Galba . . .	..	..	I	..	..	..	I
Otho . . .	..	..	..	..	I	I	..
Vitellius . . .	..	..	I	..	I	2	..
Vespasian . . .	..	..	20	5	7	6	I
Vespasian? . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Titus . . .	..	..	2	..	I	3	I
Juli Titi . . .	..	..	..	..	..	I	..
Domitian . . .	2	..	5	2	2	9	3
Nerva . . .	..	..	6	I	I	3	..
Trajan . . .	3	..	28	3	5	24	5
Trajan? . . .	..	..	..	..	..	I	..
Hadrian . . .	4	..	23	8	6	20	5
Sabina . . .	..	..	3	..	..	I	I
Aelius Caesar . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Antoninus Pius . . .	2	..	20	7	4	29	3
Faustina I . . .	..	..	16	3	4	12	..
Pius and Marcus . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Marcus . . .	..	..	17	2	..	26	I
Faustina II . . .	..	..	5	I	..	14	..
Lucius Verus . . .	..	..	5	3	..	5	I
Lucilla . . .	..	..	..	..	I	3	I
Commodus . . .	..	?	I	I	..	8	I
Crispina . . .	..	..	..	..	I	..	I
Uncertain . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total no. of coins examined	12 and ?		155	37	36	170	26
Total no. of coins in hoard	12 and 200-300		?	c. 50	c. 100	?	Hundreds

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|---|---|



1(f)



1(a)



1(f)



2(a)



2(b)



2(d)



2(e)



2(g)



2(i)



2(f)



2(p)



2(q)



2(j)



2(k)



2(l)



2(m)



2(n)



2(o)





3(a)



3(a)*



4(a)



3(b)



4(b)*

4(b)



4(c)



5(a)



4(d)



5(b)



6(a)



5(c)



6(c)



6(b)



6(d)



7(a)





7(c)



7(b)



7(d)



7(e)



7(f)



7(h)



7(h)*



7(i)*



7(p)



7(m)



7(g)



7(i)



8(a)



8(b)



8(c)



8(d)



7(j)



7(k)



7(n)



III. PUNIC COINS OF SPAIN



IV. THE PATTERN OF OFFICIAL COINAGE
IN THE EARLY PRINCIPATE



V. THE PATTERN OF OFFICIAL COINAGE
IN THE EARLY PRINCIPATE



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



VI. EARLY IMPERIAL COUNTERMARKS



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12

VII. CISTOPHORI IN THE ROMAN COINAGE



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



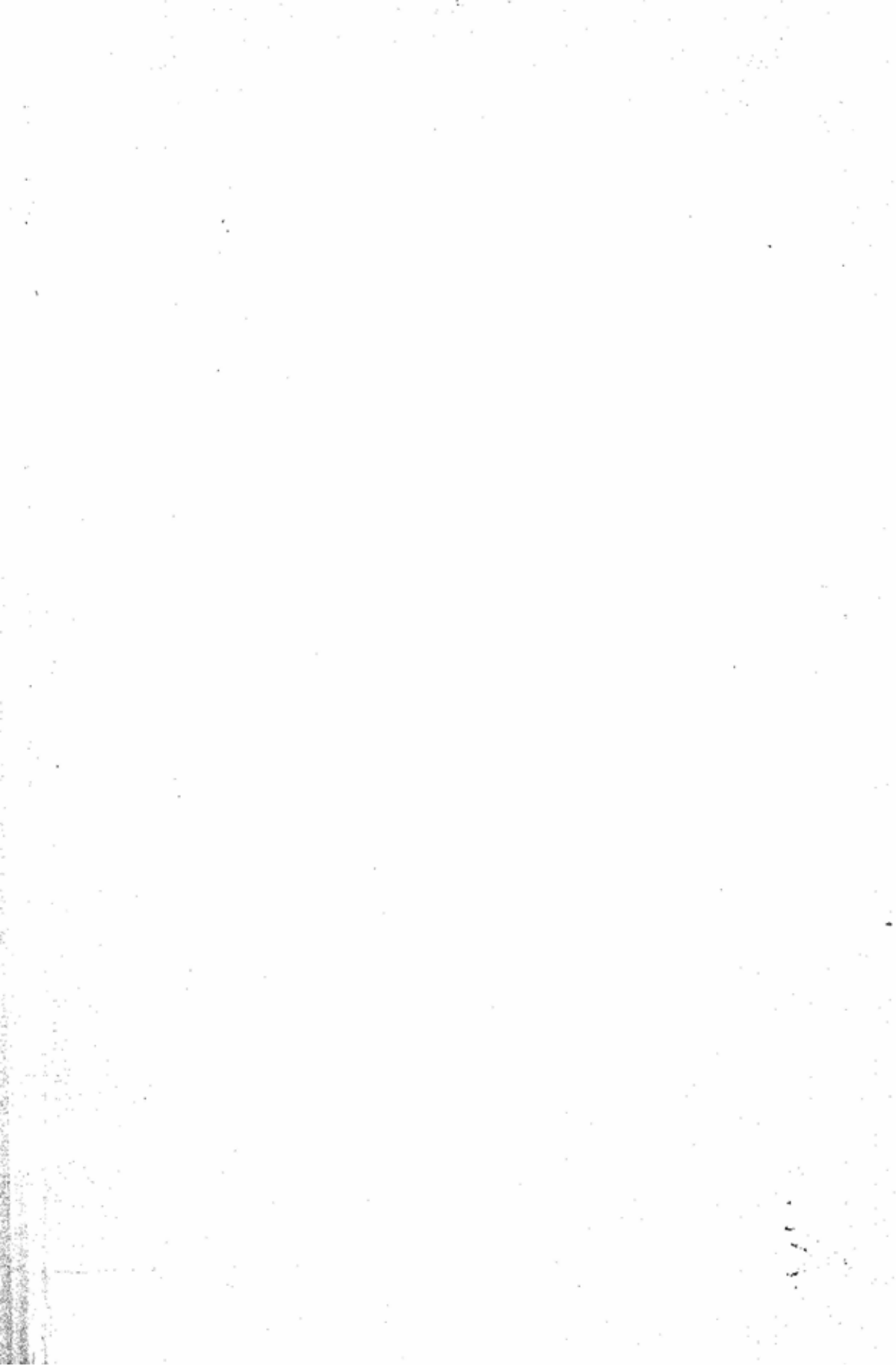
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VIII. CISTOPHORI IN THE ROMAN COINAGE



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